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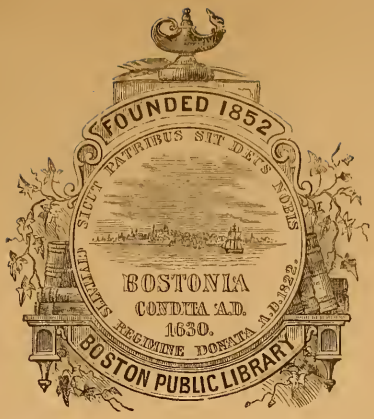

PAMPHLETS.

Slavery.

SPEECH.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

I rise, (said Mr. Wickliffe,) to address you, under much embarrassment, as to the manner in which I shall reply to the billingsgate and filth with which the reverend slanderer has bespattered me. I knew, when I pledged myself to meet him before you, that he had a corrupt *heart*, a foul mouth, and a false tongue; but I had given credit to him for cunning and common sense, and therefore concluded that he would at least not have disgraced himself and the sacerdotal garb he wears. But had I believed it possible that he would have added to his name and calling, the additional degradation of acting out, as he has, before this audience, the blackguard and ragamuffin, I would have left him to sink, unanswered by me, under the weight of the infamy which his conduct this day must bring down upon him. He has my pledge to answer him, and I will redeem that pledge, however unworthy I may consider him, or however much I may despise his ferocious and ungentlemanly conduct; and, I shall be greatly mistaken, before I dirpose of him, (if he have the sense of shame left,) if I do not make him repent of this day's work.

After pouring out a torrent of his spleen upon me, he tells you that I have abused him behind his back, and that he is here by the inscrutable providence of God to expose the hoary headed slanderer, by not only exposing the falsehoods I have asserted against him, but that he will prove me to be not only an abolitionist, but an amalgamationist.

He then commenced his tale by stating that in the year 1830, he and myself having a difference about the management of his father's estate, I opposed and defeated his election, by falsely assailing his opinions about negro slavery, and charging him with having signed a petition to stop the United States Mails, on Sundays, and by such ungenerous and false charges, induced the county to place him in the same condition in which the county had, in consequence of my conduct, recently placed my son—here exclaiming, "O! Providence, how just is thy retribution!"

He further charged me with having, in the trial of Moses, for Rape, attempted the ruin of the character of a poor but innocent female, and of having abused the jury, and sworn publicly in the streets, "*by God*," that Moses was as innocent of the crime imputed to him as I was myself. That I had meanly refused to pay toll gate fees, and contended that while the freemen of Fayette were taxed with them, my negroes had a right to pass a certain toll gate, free, because it was erected upon my land. That I had been sued by a manufacturer or merchant, because I

would not pay for clothes sold me to clothe my slaves with, and defrauded him out of his claim, by pleading the statute of limitation. That I am an abolitionist, and have not only set negroes free, but have by my deed of record, authorized my wife to set a part of my negroes free. That I am a cowardly scrub who has insulted *him*, knowing that he was a non-combatant, owing to his clerical orders, whereas, if he were in a situation to hold me accountable, I would not have dared to say what I had said.

As these are a summary of the personal attacks upon me, exclusive of what he has connected with what he intended to pass for his defence; and as the gentleman refused to commence his argument until 3 o'clock, (though the house was tendered to him at 12, by the Court,) with a view of escaping a reply from me, I will, late as it is, endeavor to dispose of his assaults upon my character, before you who have heard him and who can't be here to-morrow shall depart. And before I adduce the damning records of his guilt and turpitude, I must again call your attention to the conduct of this individual. He came here, or has been brought, as he with uplifted hands and eyes declares, by the Providence of God, to defend himself against gross slanders on his pure and immaculate character and *his beloved Church*. And how does this saint commence? Why, by bringing up my private and individual affairs before you. What is it to *his* innocence, if I am an abolitionist—an amalgamationist? What is it to *hts* character, or to his Church, that I fail to pay my debts, and plead the statute of limitation? What is it to his church, or to him, that I meanly refuse to pay toll gate fees, and have quarrelled with a President of a turnpike, and sued the company? What is it to this parson *Pry*, that I have, by deed, authorized my wife to liberate certain family slaves, by her last will or deed, after my death? Were all he has said true, and I guilty of all and each of the offences he has indicted me for, does it avail to prove that he is not a base slanderer and fabricator? How indignant should every honorable man feel at the conduct of this reverend slanderer! Under pretence of defending himself, he has dragged before the public the private economy and domestic life of his adversary. My private relations with the dead and the living, my domestic and conjugal arrangements are all invaded by this pious gentleman, after prayerfully seeking guidance from above. Very well, reverend sir, I shall meet you upon each and every point on which you have assailed me, and nail you to the counter as a counterfeit Christian, and a gross fabricator.

In answer to his charge that previous to the election of 1830, the gentleman and myself had ever differed about my management of his father's estate, I pronounce it false, and without the shadow of foundation. We had no such difference, up to that time, and the gentleman knows it; and his statement now made is a sheer fabrication to give color of excuse for his conduct at the time. I aver that the only measure of which he ever pretended to complain, was adopted by me in or about the

month of April, '31, as the records of the circuit court of this county will show. And equally false is the statement that any thing I ever did relative to his father's estate, was either unfair, unkind, or ungentlemanly. As to his referring to the gentlemen of the bar, to uphold him in his slanders, it is an impudent attempt at deception; for, I will venture to affirm that scarcely a member of that bar knows any thing of what he speaks, and that if any gentleman of that bar, or any human being whatever, ever expressed an unfavorable opinion of any part of my conduct, relative to that gentleman or his father's estate, such statement has been extorted by the gross and malignant misrepresentations of the reverend gentlemen himself, and of him only. As it is impoosible to make an issue with such an adversary as I have, without involving a point of veracity, I will make a statement of the case, which I will verify by the record itself. Many years previous to 1830, finding a mortgage from Waller Beall to John Breckenridge, upon 18-48ths of the old Slate Iron-works lands, and I believe for much more land conditioned to indemnify said Breckenridge against the debts of the company, including Breckenridge's debts due on contracts for lands within the company's bounds, I concluded that I could subject the said 18-48ths to the indemnifying of Breckenridge's administrators, for the amount they would have to pay John Lee's executors, for lands bought by him and Geo. Nicholas, of Lee, and for which suit was then pending by his Executors against the administrators of Breckenridge; and for that purpose, I filed a bill in Chancery, in the Fayette Circuit Court, against said Walter Beall and T. D. Owings, (an under purchaser,) to subject the lands, or so much of them as would be required to pay whatever Beall should be found liable to pay of the damages Lee's executors might recover. On this bill, I sued out process against Beall and T. D. Owings. The process was served on Owings, but not on Beall, of which I informed the gentleman, and told him, after Lee's executors recovered final judgment, to have the process served on Beall's executor and devisee, and a survey made to ascertain how much of the land Breckenridge bought of Lee covered that he sold to Beall, so that Beall's liability to pay might be ascertained—all of which he promised to do, and from time to time to prepare the suit under *my directions.* This took place in the latter part of 1828. But before this period, I had recovered for Samuel Smith, Luke Tiernan, and Comegys & Pershouse, judgments against Thomas Dye Owings, to the amount of seventy or eighty thousand dollars, to pay which, Owings gave up to the Marshal large bodies of lands, including parts of the lands mortgaged by Beall to Breckenridge, leaving still lands enough embraced in the mortgage to pay greatly more than any possible claim, whatever, that Breckenridge could have on him or Beall, subject to Beall's mortgage to Breckenridge. The said lands so surrendered, were bought by Ellicott & Meredith, Trustees of S. Smith, for the use of the Bank of the U. S., who consented to bid the full value of the lands, on the promise of Owings' Trustees to put them into immediate possession. The Trustees of Owings, after the sale

put them into possession, and they, by their agents, rented out the lands to their tenants—of all which the reverend gentleman was informed by me, and well knew from other sources. I had advised Ellicott & Meredith, who resided in Baltimore, to give the large amount they did for the land, because I knew there were lands enough, without touching their purchase, to pay double Breckenridge's claim. But I told the said Rob't J. Breckenridge, that if, on experiment, there were not other lands sufficient without taking what Ellicott & Meredith had bought, it would be subjected to the payment of any sum found due his father's estate, for which it was liable in Owings' hands, as to creditors and purchasers; and further, that it was highly possible that Ellicott & Meredith would pay such balance as soon as it was ascertained, without subjecting the lands they held to sale.

Owings always denied that the land was liable to pay Mr. Breckenridge's debt, or any part of it, and the deed of mortgage from Owings to Beall had not been recorded according to law; so that, as to creditors and purchasers, Mr. Breckenridge could only subject 18 48ths of whatever of the land his mortgage embraced, to the payment of his debt. But added to this fund, George Nicholas and Waller Beall gave to John Breckenridge their joint bond, to indemnify Breckenridge against Lee and all creditors, &c., and Geo. Nicholas was jointly bound in the bond with Breckenridge. to John Lee. On these bonds, George Nicholas' executor, Jas. Morrison, was made a defendant. This said Robert J. Breckenridge found, among his father's or his brother Cabell's papers, George Nicholas' and Walter Beall's bond for indemnity, which he says he has lost, but which I have always believed he, for motives which he knows I know, has hitherto suppressed. George Nicholas' estate is, and always has been, abundantly able and solvent to pay the whole debt paid Lee, which exeeeds, now, ten thousand dollars, and which I verily believe could have been made out of his executor and heirs, at any time, in six months; but this would close every part of the gentleman's duty as agent or administrator for his father's estate, and take from him every excuse for not settling with his heirs, by accounting for not only monies received, but lands of great value sold and sacrificed by him.

After the gentleman had published his negro doctrines just read, without having process served on Beall's representatives, (the mortgager,) and without giving me notice of his intentions, he caused a decree to be entered to sell the whole lands mortgaged, including the land bought by Ellicott & Meredith. This decree he kept a profound secret from me, until about the month of April, 1831, when I found out that he was about to expose the land to sale, with a view to turn Ellicott & Meredith's tenants out of possession, and this without service of process, either on Beall, Ellicott & Meredith or the tenants, and without even ascertaining how much Beall was liable for, and for the whole interest in the land, when his father's mortgage only called for 18-48ths. Finding the gentleman engaged in this piece of trickery, and knowing his object was

to glut his spleen upon me, by disturbing the tenants of Ellicott & Meredith by process issued in a suit where I appeared marked as counsel for him, and thereby impress them with a belief that I had confederated with him, in violation of common honesty, to turn their tenants out on a decree utterly void. In the month of April, I think, 1831, the record will show, that I, either by myself or counsel, exposed this nefarious conduct of the gentleman, to the Court, and had his decree set aside. And this is the ungentlemanly conduct of which the gentleman complains. Could the gentleman have carried on to Baltimore, a tale that I, as counsel, had just advised Ellicott & Meredith to give a large sum for the lands, and to lease them out, and then, on an utterly void and fraudulent decree, had assisted him, the said Robert J. Breckenridge, (a connexion,) to dispossess their tenants, he, the said Robert J., would have achieved all he wished for, except an intended deception on the heirs of his father, which he has played off from that day to this, pretending that he cannot settle with them because his business is unfinished. This suit is still pending, and the record and papers will prove that I state every material part correctly.

With regard to the statement of my being retained counsel for his father's administrators, and having in any manner failed in my duty, I will give a sketch, or what I believe to be a fair statement of my relations to the late Mr. Breckenridge and his whole family, and especially with the individual present. I had known Mr. Breckenridge long, and in the latter part of his life our acquaintance ripened into an intimate and family friendship, and no man living or dead ever had more of my respect and esteem. I witnessed his last moments, and bore him to his grave, where I mingled my tears with those of his bereaved family and friends. He died in the midst of his usefulness, to the irreparable loss of his family, lamented by his country. After his death, other counsel were employed, or his business was neglected, until about two years had expired, during which time my engagements were so intense that I think I knew little of the condition in which he had left his estate, or whether his estate and business were or were not involved in difficulties, when a gentleman accosted me and asked if I was the attorney of Mr. Breckenridge's administrators? to which I replied I was not; on which, he told me that he had a suit depending against them, and wished to employ me; to which I assented, if we agreed, &c. He went on to tell me that he acted as agent for one Wood, of Virginia, who had placed large demands into the hands of Mr. Breckenridge to collect as a lawyer, which he had collected and failed to pay over. I asked him if he could prove that he had collected the money? He replied, yes; that a large amount had been collected from Col. Nicholas, a sum of one Richard Thurman, and the balance of the agent's father; that his father would prove payment by himself and Mr. Breckenridge's acknowledgment; that he had collected the debts due from Nicholas and Thurman, and that Wood had his letters stating that Thurman and his father were insolvent, and that he had fail-

ed to get judgment against Nicholas. Here I stopped the gentleman, assuring him that if such was the nature of the suit, I could not be employed. At a subsequent period, one of the administrators came into court, and asked me if Mr. Grayson had not employed me in the same suit, stating that he had been over persuaded to embark in the administration, and that he wished me to appear for him, so as to keep him from loss, as he was totally unable to do the business, and had relied on Grayson, in whom he had lost confidence, &c. I told him Grayson had not employed me. The suit was shortly called, and the administrators being wholly unprepared, I with great difficulty got the case postponed until I could go, myself, and search Mr. Breckenridge's papers for evidence, pledging myself to make no further resistance to the claim, if I found no evidence against it among his papers. On the next Sunday, (for then the sun shone but few Sabbaths on me,) I repaired, for the first time, to the desolate mansion of my departed friend, which, in his palmy days, I had visited as the happy residence of the most accomplished gentleman and talented man I ever knew. It was my fate to find no human being at home but his bereaved and disconsolate wife. I told her my business. She handed me the key to her husband's papers, at which the tears streamed from her eyes. I found his papers in such order as to stamp the mind with a thorough conviction that he was a fair and honest man, for he seemed to have retained the evidence of his whole life and transactions with perfect security. Among these thousands of papers, I at last found Wood's papers, and, to my joy, discovered that the suit was a gross fraud, and the tale a vile slander. The papers and the vouchers showed that Wood had been paid every farthing, and was debtor to Mr. Breckenridge, nine shillings. I soon put an end to the suit and an end to the calumny. At this period, I believe, the whole of Mr. Breckenridge's children, except one, were in helpless infancy, and that one wretchedly married. It was a few months after this, while attending the Court of Appeals, I entered the court room and found the late Col. John Allen much agitated, when he approached me, saying, I am afraid your relations are wholly ignorant of what is about to befall them. I asked him, who? He replied, the children of Mr. Breckenridge. Gen. Breckenridge, said he, wrote me a note to attend to an appeal of Ross & Carneal against Preston & Breckenridge, without letting me know the magnitude of the claim. It came on, last court. I argued it unprepared, and the court has made up an opinion, which they will, I expect, deliver this morning, taking from Preston & Breckenridge, about three thousand acres of land near Lexington. As soon as I heard this detail, I told him that it was worse than that, as it regarded Mr. Breckenridge's heirs, for I believed he had sold the land, or a part of it, and was bound to warrant the title. We immediately took measures to obtain an order for a re-argument, which was granted, both agreeing to apply ourselves to the investigation of the new and difficult questions involved in the suit, and I know I did so with an interest for the family of Mr. Breckenridge that

scarcely ever permitted the case to be absent from my mind until the trial. At the ensuing term, we both argued it, and finally gained the suit. The suit involved the validity of Thomas Barnes' military survey, measuring about two thousand eight hundred acres of land, then and now worth little short of two hundred thousand dollars. Thus did I, as I verily believe, while the administrators and heirs were even ignorant of the existence of this great suit, again rescue that family from a claim that would have greatly distressed it, as well as impaired its means, had it gone otherwise. From this time, I voluntarily took upon myself the whole of the business of the late Mr. Breckenridge's estate; went into the courts where he had practiced, and in the recording courts of the State, not only to ferret out claims against him, but his claims for professional services. To enumerate all I did in this way, in detail, were my memory equal to it, would require a time that I have not to spare. The suit of Wood had generated another suit of the same kind, impeaching Mr. Breckenridge's professional integrity, based on an old receipt for a bond to be put in suit. This I threw out of court with little trouble. But I found upon the docket of this court, a suit against the administrators of Breckenridge and Nicholas, demanding nearly ten thousand dollars for lands sold them by John Lee. That suit being erroneously brought, I demurred it out of court; but it was renewed against Breckenridge's administrators alone, and my utmost efforts could not prevent a heavy verdict and judgment. I reversed the case in the Court of Appeals, and on a new trial the plaintiff still prevailed. I reversed it again, my sole object now being to stave off the judgment until I could bring, in aid of the estate, some of the contingent fees of Mr. Breckenridge, which I found dependant on his recovering in land contests, or at all events until the eldest son returned from college, of age, to take possession of the estate; when he did I surrendered the suit up to the brother of the rev'd slanderer, who consented to have it removed to the county of Woodford, where he left it at his death, and where I had afterwards to attend to it at great sacrifice of time and convenience. It there underwent two or three trials, before it was finally disposed of by the Court of Appeals. In the mean time, the reverend gentleman had got himself, by an act of the Legislature, appointed administrator, with power to sell lands, pay debts, &c. &c., when this judgment, amounting to about ten thousand dollars, fell upon him, without a dollar, as he informed me, to meet it with. I had discovered that Mr. Breckenridge had a contract with T. Lewis, for one-third of what he could recover in a suit, (Manson's heirs against Fisher, Rice and others, for land near Nicholasville;) that he had a like contract with John Mackir, for lands in Mason county; and had a contract with Walter Beall, for a thousand pounds, and a mortgage to secure its payment, on which he had brought suit, in the Federal Court. That court having no jurisdiction, I dismissed the suit, and brought suit against Beall's executor and devisee, in Fayette; and took up the cases where he had made contracts for parts of the lands in contest, prepared them, tried

them, and succeeded in each. I prepared the Chancery suit against Beall and others, for the complainants, with such rapidity, that I foreclosed the mortgage in the inferior court, and had the decree affirmed in the Court of Appeals before the defendants had prepared their defences. I compromised a suit between Howard's devisees and Breckenridge's heirs, by which Breckenridge's heirs were put in possession of 2,300 acres of land, stretching more than two miles on the Ohio, and within less than twenty-five miles of Louisville. Out of these ample funds, I instructed C. Breckenridge to raise funds to meet the judgment of Lee's executors, but he died without effecting sales, except to a limited extent, when I added to the above ample funds, by a judgment of the appellate Court, a valuable tract of land on Harrod's creek. I also recovered for the heirs, 300 acres of first rate land, from their aunt, the late Mrs. Meredith, which this reverend individual now holds, at a price merely nominal, from the other heirs, as I am informed and believe. Except that tract, and that near Nicholasville, these lands lay on the Ohio, or near it, and constitute a mass of value which I shall not attempt to estimate. They were elaborated by my exertions, without which little of them would have been added to Mr. Breckenridge's fortune. A large amount, in value, of them, as I was informed, was sold, and the proceeds gambled off *by the reverend gentleman*, before the debt of Lee's executors fell upon his father's estate.

[Here Mr. Breckenridge demanded if Mr. Wickliffe *asserted* that to be a fact?]

No, said Mr. Wickliffe, I only assert I performed the service, and that I was informed you had sold the lands, and had gambled off most of the money you had sold them for. I further assert, that on my asking you what you had done with the proceeds of those lands, you replied that they were gone. These lands having disappeared, and no funds being in hands, as I supposed, and none in expectancy, except a judgement against Peter B. Ormsby, the reverend gentleman told me that Mr. Price, the agent for Lee's executors, would coerce the payment immediately, by execution on his father's negroes or lands, unless he would give his own bond with John W. Hunt, John Brand, or myself, payable in twelve months, for the debt, and as he could not give either of those gentlemen, he had no reliance but myself. I had suffered severely by being surety, and had no money to pay the debt with if the gentleman failed. I did not believe that if he settled fairly with his father's estate he was worth any thing; but he was John Breckenridge's son, and the execution would fall immediately on the dower property in the hands of the widow. I knew the estate of the father, though greatly diminished, was still good, yet that I might have my property first sacrificed, and then have to wade through Chancery for indemnity. Still, I joined the individual in a bond to the amount of the debt, under his solemn promise to push the suit against Ormsby, and to so arrange, as that the bond should be paid at maturity. Thus assured, I assisted that individual to prepare to meet the bond; but

the year rolled round, and no money, except perhaps about one thousand dollars, was to be found; and Ormsby had enjoined the judgment against him, charging, in substance, in his bill, that he was an under purchaser of a part of the property embraced in Walter Beall's mortgage; and had been induced to buy in his property, at the sale, under the mortgage, not knowing that the mortgage was void by reason of fraud, &c. The bill further charged, (in substance,) that the father of the rev'd gentleman had no claim whatever on Walter Beall, but that he visited Walter Beall, at his own house, when he was deranged and a lunatic, and by threats and false representations, and without consideration, obtained his bond for £1,000, and the mortgage to assure its payment. I pretend not to give a literal statement, but I know that I state the substance of the bill, as it regarded the conduct and reputation of the respected father of this degenerate son. This suit depended in Jefferson, out of the range of my practice; yet, of such importance was I then deemed by this reverend gentleman, that he frequently consulted with me how to secure the debt and to repel the slander on his father's memory. I directed the mode of defence, which was in part pursued; but notwithstanding able counsel appeared for the administrators of Breckenridge, the decree of the Circuit Court sustained the charges in the bill, and granted a perpetual injunction. I advised the appeal, with the intention to argue the cause in the appellate court; but such was the decline of my health and strength, and the weight of public and professional duties that had pressed upon me for some time before the court approached the trial, that I felt wholly unable to appear in the cause, and so advised the reverend gentleman, who seemed to acquiesce, and consulted with me as to the counsel he should substitute. In this we agreed, and I promised to aid them with my views upon the case, which I faithfully did. But when the day of trial came near, my present slanderer and persecutor had confidence in me *alone*. He appealed to me not only on account of the large sum involved, and which was indispensable, he said, to relieve me, as his security, but because the decree involved the memory of his father, to lay aside my public duties and make an effort for him. The last consideration was decisive with me. I arranged with Senators, to suspend, for a day, the important business of the Senate, and obtained, from the Court of Appeals, the same day to make my defence. I made it. The decree of the inferior court that nailed the foul charge on the coffin of the deceased —that he had cheated and defrauded a poor senseless lunatic—was reversed and annulled. By this decree, not only was the exalted name and spotless character of John Breckenridge vindicated, but nearly ten thousand dollars was put into the pocket and under the control of his profligate son. This was the last professional service I performed for the family, and God knows, when at night I retired, exhausted and prostrate, from the court room, I felt as if it was doubtful whether I should ever enter the court house again. If I risked my life as I did in the effort, it was in defence of the memory of a departed friend, and well has his un-

grateful son paid me for it. It was not two years afterwards that he occupied the newspapers and took the field against me; and now again, when sixty-six winters weigh upon me, in the presence of my children and grand children, and before my county and country, under the garb of religion and a pretext that he is a missionary of heaven, he has, with a virulence and a brutishness suited to the mouth of a baron of a brothel, and to no other, falsely and infamously assailed my name and peace. In assailing me thus, this individual assails not only the friend of his father while living, but the defender of his fame when dead. Yes, the father once occupied the ground I now do. Well do I remember when this negro question, of which the son is now the advocate, with all its negro advocates, met him like a whelming wave—when every dog, big and little, were snapping at his heels, as they are now at mine. But the pride of this gentleman seems to be to trample upon the ashes of his father, by repudiating his principles and rejecting his counsels. Æsop said that *once a crow begat a swan.* Had he lived in my time, and known that individual and his father as I have, he would have added, *and once a swan begat a crow.*

Fellow citizens, I have only adverted to the prominent cases and services rendered to the estate of the gentleman's father. While his children were in infancy and unable to help themselves, I performed other and numerous services for them; I performed the duties of agent, attorney, paymaster and friend; I caused witnesses to be summoned, surveys to be made, and, for the family, advanced the fees when called on—for all which, I never asked or presented a fee bill, until I argued the last suit, and then did not charge, for all I did, what would have been charged by many lawyers, for the single suit of Ross & Carneal against Preston & Breckenridge; and a part of that pittance was paid in a most inequitous demand on my brother, which the reverend gentleman coerced, of the injustice of which he was fully notified.

Thus much for the manner in which I have acted towards the gentleman's father's estate. How have I acted towards his children, when they needed my aid, while the gentlemen was spending money and time, under pretence of going to school, or was suspended or dismissed from college? The sheriff of this county seized, I believe, every slave, male and female, belonging to his *then unfortunate sister*, on divers writs against the estate of her husband, Alfred Grayson, and, in the dead of winter, locked them up in close jail. Intelligence reached me, at my farm, in the country, the night they were imprisoned, of their perilous condition, with a request that I would immediately come to town, to rescue them, if possible, from freezing, if not from sale. A member of my family was dangerously ill, but I started the next morning, at light, and, amidst frost and ice, reached here, when I found the report true. I demanded a jury, and, throughout the day, I incessantly labored, without taking time even to *eat.* About eleven o'clock of one of the coldest nights I ever felt, the jury reported a favorable verdict; but the credit-

ors demanded a bond to be presented by the sheriff, to be signed by them, to indemnify him in proceeding to sell. Among the creditors, was Mr. Charles Carr, who I see in the crowd, and one whom I knew. While the bonds were preparing, I walked Mr. Carr aside, and said to him, the claimant is the unfortunate daughter of John Breckenridge, and these negroes have passed from him to her; to her and her little children, they are much; to you and the creditors, they are little, and why will you, against the verdict, force the sale? Mr. Carr generously replied, John Breckenridge was my father's friend and my brother's friend, and if others will stop the sales, *I will*. He made the proposal to all the creditors, and they assented without a dissenting voice. Having thus released the poor slaves, and provided for their comfort for the night, and the restoration of them the next morning, I left this place after one o'clock, and reached my place of residence a little before day, having, as I have often thought, suffered more in that one twenty-four hours, from anxiety of mind, and hunger and cold, than I ever did, in the same period, throughout my life; and yet, for this service, as it was done for a member of the family then measurably defenceless and oppressed, I neither asked nor would have accepted any reward whatever, and when [turning to Mr. Breckenridge,] some of these very lawyers of the Fayette bar to whom you profess such heart-felt gratitude for their good opinion of your conduct and abhorrence of mine, attempted to seize the interest of your brother Cabell's heirs in the dower estate of their venerated grand mother, *where did you* apply for relief? To me sir; and you know well how faithfully and how successfully I defeated their schemes; and for this, sir, you equally know I never took, and never will take, one farthing.

Fellow citizens, (said Mr. W.,) I have spoken to you of my conduct as professional, and a friend to the family. I beg leave to add a few words, as to my conduct towards this individual's lamented brother, as well as himself. With his brother and myself, the best relations always existed, up to his death. When he commenced the practice, I assisted him with my advice and my experience, as far as I could, and often recommended him to others as a lawyer, up to the year 1819, when I determined to resign the office of Attorney of the United States, that he might get it, that being near the close of the last term of Mr. Monroe, who I knew to be the warm friend of his father, and with whom I supposed I had influence. Before I resigned, I spoke to Mr. Monroe personally, recommending him; and after I resigned, wrote a letter to him. Mr. Bibb, however, contrary to my expectations, came out for the office, and succeeded. Subsequently, Mr. Breckenridge informed me of his determination to accept the office of Secretary of State, under Adair, and remove to Frankfort. After advising him against the step, and finding him decided, I told him that I would decline my practice in the Court of Appeals, and transfer to him my clients and business in that court, which I did, and continued to do until his death, and the records of that court will show that my aid to him was not without its benefits to him.

Of the reverend gentleman who now assails me, at the death of his brother, of my own knowledge, I knew nothing; and what I heard from others was certainly not very favorable; yet he was a young man, and I hoped time would improve him. The first time he intruded himself upon public notice, I think, was about 1825, when, as I believe, he announced himself a candidate for the Legisiature, unasked and unexpected. To him I perceived much opposition, and especially from one of his keepers and prompters on the present occasion. Indeed, while I heard many speak against hjm, I knew of but one in his favor who took part in the contests of the day—that one was the late Andrew William Parker, whose presence would have closed the mouth of the gentleman from saying that he was forced out when he first offered to represent the county. Parker was his friend, and his only friend, who spoke to me for him. All others that did say any thing to me about his forcing himself upon the canvass, protested against him. But Parker proposed to me that I should permit myself to be run for the Senate instead of running for the lower house, as I intended and desired to do; but seeing no alternative but to run for the Senate or have the gentleman beaten, I directed Parker to announce me for the Senate, to make room for the gentleman. This he did, which threw me into the Senate where I was in a dead minority, and the gentleman into the Lower House, where I could have headed a majority raised into existence by my friends and myself. In the canvass, which was very warm, the parties being nearly equal, I was not less interested for the gentleman than myself. I introduced him to my friends as the son of John Breckenridge, and the brother of their late representative and favorite, Cabell Breckenridge. In all I did or ever said about the gentleman, my desire to promote his welfare, I am sure, was known to all. Separated from him, I supposed all was right with him, and for four successive elections the gentleman represented this county; but when to my great mortification I was informed that he was nightly engaged in the ruinous habits of gaming, I lost no time to warn him of the certain destruction of his prospects in life, unless he desisted. He promised fair, but that was all, for he still kept up his habits until late in the session of 1828. I think a mutual friend disclosed to me that he was ruining himself at Farro and other games of chance, and had, on the night before, lost enormously. About the time that I expected him to repair again to his sinks of ruin and infamy, I went to his lodging room, and found him in the act of rising from his bed to accompany some of his companions then in attendance for his company to commence Faro again. His guests soon disappeared, and he threw himself into bed, pretending to be very sick. After speaking to him privately not to leave his room that night, and obtaining a promise that he would not, I left him for the night, as I hoped, to sleep off the desperation which his countenance portrayed, arising from his dissipation; but I learned afterwards, that the gentleman, instead of going to sleep to ease his mind, took a quantity of calomel, without weight or measure, (having no more effectual remedy at com-

mand,) and was found prostrate next morning. The local physicians proving deficient to give the gentleman relief, he prudently called in Dr. Marshall, who, with Dr. Munsell, by the aid of hot bath and steam battery, brought the calomel from him in *witches balls*, and saved his life. During the awful suspense in which his fate was in the hands of his physicians, I remained near him, and no man living could feel more relieved than I did when Doctor Marshall exhibited to me the balls of calomel which the steam battery had forced through his stomach, and announced to me his hopes of saving his life, and when I saw him able to return to his family, all I said was to advise him to quit politics, go home and repair his constitution and fortune; this he assured me was his own plan, and I parted with him in perfect friendship. On my return home he visited my house with his family; I made it their home, and treated them more in the light of children and members of my own family than ordinary relations. He joined the church—I felt no objections to that, except that he too *soon* became a saint. He stood the church and retirement, and his abjuration of politics, but one short year, when he again determined to commence a career in politics upon a new plan. While he acted with me, he had, to be sure, been elected four times to the Legislature, but Kendall had impudently ascribed his elections to me; besides, he wished to climb to the top of the ladder, to do which, it was necessary to have a row with me, and all of a sudden I found myself beset in the Reporter, the Luminary, a paper in Danville and another in Shelbyville, upon the subject of my pro-Slavery principles, as the modern phrase is. After most of them seemed to tire, I observed that one broke out; some of the clique thought the Constitution ought to be amended before the master could be robbed of his slave. This author boldly affirmed, that all children of female slaves born since the Constitution was formed, were free absolutely and that to hold them in slavery was force, and that force *might be resisted by force;* in plain English: that it was lawful for the slaves born since the date of the Constitution, to cut their master's throats and depart from slavery. Who this could be, I neither comprehended or cared, but took it for granted that he was some foreign abolitionist that knew little of our laws or constitution; when lo! the gentleman was so proud of his new discoveries, and new faith, that he tells a member of my family that he is the author. I knew that he was imprudent, but scarcely imagined he was so unwise as to utter such opinions, even if he held them, and sent him word, whatever he did, not to let it be known that he was the author. But his friend, assured me, when he delivered my message, that all advice was thrown away upon the gentleman, that he was proud of his authorship, and intended to write at the end of his last number, in legible characters, the sure enough name of Robert J. Breckenridge. Not having either the relish or the time to bestow more consideration upon the gentleman or his effusions, I let him exhaust his seventh and last number and still did not reply to him. His next, and effectual step, to make me break silence

was to take the stump, and from muster grounds to race fields, and from race fields to the court-house, the gentleman poured forth his eloquence upon me, *Road Bills*, *Sunday Mails*, and the negroes, until I was compelled to defend myself, and to expose his negro projects, My first response and only notice of his negro notions was at Athens. There, as I did at two other places, I explained the Road Bill I had penned and passed through the Legislature; stated that I had done so in pursuance to petitions sent to the Legislature for two years in succession, and supposed that every one desired the law; but if a respectable minority wished it repealed, it should be done. Here I left the gentleman to work his own ruin, which he speedily accomplished. He ascribes his defeat to me. I was not to blame for it. It was his principles not me, that defeated him. It was his cupidity that ruined him. I had tried, through friends, to see him, and get him to let me alone, and not to ruin himself; I even pursued him into Leavy's Store, where he stept in as I believed to avoid me. I took him out and remonstrated with him against his treatment of me and the certain destruction he would bring on himself; but all to no purpose; when I determined to meet him at the Court-house, where he had appointed to speak, but was persuaded from it by Mr. Clay, who prevailed upon me to absent myself from the county, and give him an opportunity to see the gentleman and persuade him to desist. I did so, but all to no purpose, it only seemed to excite the gentleman's appetite for strife; nor could I read the gentleman, until the late James Cowan informed me of a conversation he held with him, in which Cowan told him he would lose his election, to which Mr. Breckenridge said, "I should like to know how I am to be beaten. Can't I get two hundred votes on my own popularity," Cowan replied that he thought he could. "Can't I get," says he, "three hundred Presbyterian votes in the county." Cowan replied that he supposed he could. "Well, then," said he, "can't any man, who will quarrell with old Bob Wickliffe, get a thousand votes in Fayette." Cowan said he did not know; "well," said Breckenridge, "I know." As soon as Cowan narrated this conversation, it unlocked the secret of the gentleman's negro and Sunday Mail business, and disclosed how he expected to wend his way to *Congress*. He had observed that I would not drop the sitting member of Congress, *Clarke*, for my neighbor and friend, *Flournoy*, and he could hardly count on any aid from me or my friends, but if he could excite the sympathy of the presbyterians by the cry of persecution about the Sunday Mail business, and that of the anti--slavery men for his negro notions, and gain the aid of the Jackson party by a quarrel with me, he thought that he would first make his way to the Legislature and then to Congress. I was further convinced that this was the gentleman's game, not only from what I saw him do and I heard him say, but from another dialogue he held with another gentleman, after I met him at Athens, in which he said, "If I am elected, the old fellow and me will be, in one month, as good friends as ever, and he will go to the Senate of the U. S. and I will represent this District in Congress. But if I

am beaten, I will pursue him while life lasts." The cause of this bait being thrown out to my friend, was the secret the gentleman discovered, after that meeting. Up to that time, he thought he was gaining anti-Jackson men, in hundreds, and Jackson men, in thousands; but that interview taught the gentleman that he was only the weasel licking the file—that instead of devouring me, as he thought he was, he was using up himself. When the election came on, he was defeated; and, true to his threat, he is again licking the file. Yes, Mr. Breckenridge, the blood still comes from your own tongue; you degraded yourself before, but your degradation then was nothing to what it is now; then you were your own man, now you are in the *keeping*, the hired hack and stump orator, of men as degraded as *you are yourself*, who have only set you to washing out their dirty clothes—to work out for them a dirty job.

But the gentleman complains, bitterly, that I defeated his election; that I not only run his negro principles at him, but pushed the Sunday mail story to his prejudice. Here the gentleman fabricates. It was said, at the time, that he had raised the story againgst himself, about the Sunday mail, to let the Presbyterians know that he had joined the Church, and was objected to for his sacred regard for the Sabbath. Whether this be true or false, I know not; but one thing I do know, and that is, that I never heard a human being object to him on account of the Sunday mail, and I do not believe that the objection would have been used to any extent, if he had not taken great pains to extend a knowledge of his Sabbath-day piety, in every stump oration he made before the election. No man, in truth, will say that I ever made such objection against the gentleman or any other living mortal, nor did I in the slightest degree, meddle in the canvass. During the canvass, so neutral and silent was my course between the candidates, that although I had, at the moment the gentlemen discovered himself the author of the extravagant and dangerous doctrines in relation to our slave property, determined never again to even place confidence in him, much less to vote for him. Of this, I think, I did not speak even in confidence, to a human being—not even to a member of my family. Indeed, until I voted, a report prevailed in the county, that I would still vote for the gentleman, and this report, I always believed, originated near the gentleman himself. The only human being who knew how my vote would be cast was Mr. J. Allen, who, having heard the report, warned me of the consequences of my voting for Breckenridge. Just as I entered the door to vote, I told him that the report that I would vote for Breckenridge was untrue, and stepped into the court house, cast my vote, left the public square, and, as I believe, never again entered it during the election.

Thus, fellow citizens, have I faithfully and painfully detailed to you my connections with the reverend gentleman, his family and business—a tale I would blush to tell, if the reverend gentleman had allowed me room to avoid it. He has, however, still further pressed me into a de-

fence of my private life, and private, not public controversies. The gentleman has charged that in the defence of Moses, I had to ruin the character of an innocent but poor female, and was guilty of abusing the jury that tried him, and says that I swore publicly in the streets, by my God that Moses was as innocent as I was, and further says that Moses was the only negro charged with rape, after his famous displays for negro emancipation, in 1830. Now, I pronounce these statements a wilful and corrupt fabrication of the gentleman—invented by him and spoken by him, *knowing* them to be utterly false. I never injured the feelings or character of the poor female, nor treated her with a want of tenderness in the trial, as the jurors and the Judge who tried him, the gentlemen of the bar, and hundreds who witnessed the trial, will verify. I never swore by God, that he (Moses) was as innocent as myself of the crime with which he was charged; nor have I abused the jury for their verdict; but I have said, and now say, that I verily believed, and still believe, that Moses was innocent of the charge for which he suffered death. That the poor female was injured, and that she thought Moses was the perpetrator, I never doubted; but that *Bill*, who was hung at the same time that Moses was, for the crimes of murder and rape, perpetrated after the girl was injured, was guilty of the rape for which Moses died, I always believed; and I believe that no man living, that witnessed the closing scenes at the gallows, ever doubted Moses' innocence. Moses was the slave of the late Joseph Rogers, who, being unable to see me, sent Mrs. Rogers to engage me to defend Moses. I declined appearing for Moses, upon the ground that I was not disposed to be engaged in Court, in any way. But Mrs. Rogers requested me to see the negro, declaring that she verily believed him innocent herself. This request I complied with, and left Moses, after hearing his statements, as perfectly satisfied of his innocence as I am at this moment. I advised the employment of Mr. Warfield and Judge Woolley, and conferred with one, or perhaps both of these gentlemen, as to the defence. But the rapes, murders and arson which had grown out of the discussions of the gentleman in 1830, as I then thought, and still believe, in a great measure had filled the jail with negroes; and one case (that of Bill, who had murdered the mother and ravished the daughter, a poor deaf and dumb female,) had excited the public mind into a ferment. From this circumstance, and having the most perfect confidence in Moses' innocence, I believed it to be a duty I ought not to shrink from, to add my efforts to save the life of a poor slave, and entered on his defence; before which, Bill had not only confessed that it was him, and not Moses, who committed the rape charged against Moses, to the jailor and the slaves in the jail, but, upon being seen and interrogated by Edward C. Payne, a gentleman of high character and standing, who had known him from boyhood, and had lived in his master's family, he confessed that he had done it, and detailed the circumstances attending the commission of the offence, which corresponded with those stated by the girl. Two negroes swore that the night the

offence was committed, Moses slept with them at Mr. H. Rogers' farm; and two other negroes swore that shortly before the girl stated she was assaulted by the perpetrator, they went with *Bill* to the house where the girl lived, and that on leaving the house, Bill left them, and they saw no more of him that night. Bill and Moses were about the same size and color, and the offence was committed in the night. The girl, after seeing the two negroes in Court, still persisted in giving it as her opinion, that it was Moses, whom shehad seen but once, and that the evening before the crime was committed. I do not pretend to minutely state every thing. On this evidence, I concluded that the girl was mistaken, and on this point, the jury hung until I left the city. After my return from the country, I learned that the jury had again called for the girl to give testimony, and then the verdict was rendered which cost poor Moses his life. From his condemnation to the closing scene, Moses was attended by that pious and benevolent christian, the Rev. Spencer Cooper, who saw him and Bill launched into eternity together. I was absent when they were hung; but Cooper related to me that Moses became pious and gave evidence of his hopes of a future and a better life, from the time of his condemnation; that before he made a public declaration of his innocence to the thousands that witnessed the scene, he said to him—Master, I have been a great sinner, but my Saviour has blessed me, and my sins are forgiven; I desire not to live, for if I were to again mix with the world, I might again commit sin; but I die, thank God, innocent. After Moses declared his innocence, *Bill* stated that he deserved to die for his crimes, but that he pitied poor Moses, for he (Bill) had committed the crime for which Moses was to die;—when they were both launched into *eternity*. This is the melancholy story of poor Moses, which the —— Parson introduced, with a malignant grin upon his face, as *a pleasant* jest and anecdote in my misfortunes; adding that he learnt that my constituents had some idea of giving me Judge Lynch's law for my ungentlemanly behavior. It may yet be more tolerable in the terrible day, for poor Moses than for this prayerful Parson; of this, God alone can judge.

The next charge the gentleman has brought against me is, that I refused to pay the toll-gate fees for my slaves passing a toll-gate, and went to law with the Company because they would make me pay what other people paid. As this charge is intended to exhibit the pious gentleman a Don Quixotte, ready to fight the battles of the oppressed gentlemen, not ladies, who contended for the right of taxing me for my negroes passing the toll-gate referred to, I will explain, as briefly as I can. By the charter of the Richmond and Lexington Turnpike Road, it is expressly provided that when a toll-gate is erected on a proprietor's land, that he shall have the liberty of passing from one part of his farm to another, free of toll. The Company run the Road through my farm, and about mid-way on the road put up a toll-gate. I claimed the right to pass the gate with my servants and slaves, free. The Company differed with me, and I filed a bill in chancery to establish my right. To this bill the

Company demurred. The Judge overruled the demur, giving an opinion in favor of my right; since which, I have exercised the right of passing the gate without toll, and I believe the like provision is to be found in favor of every farmer in the county, where he has to pass a toll-gate, going from one part of his farm to another; otherwise a man's farm might be rendered valueless to him, if he was saddled with toll fees for every horse and slave, or vehicle, which he might be compelled to pass through the gate. This charge is exhibited by the gentleman, to prove that I am mean and unwilling to bear the ordinary burdens imposed on other people. Very well, Mr. Breckenridge; and what have you done to improve the roads of your beloved county? You were born and raised here, and inherited your fortune, (except that which you wrung from your old aunt Meredith,) through my labor. Why, no sooner had you dispossessed your old aunt, than you turned the Henry's Mill road that was theretofore straight, at an angle of forty-five degrees, to take it round your land; and I do not believe that you have voluntarily ever given the public one dollar in aid of public improvements, or one inch of ground to make a road upon. No, fellow-citizens, although the gentleman has spent thousands to *learn Faro*, I do not believe that he has ever yet learnt how to give one dollar for his country's good. What I have, I have made, and the reverend gentleman attacks me where I am strongest, when he alludes to my connexions with the public roads. I am not boastful; but I think I hazard nothing when I state that I have given more in lands and timber to make roads in Kentucky, than any *ten men living*. In the county of Fayette alone, I think that more than one hundred acres of my land are covered with roads and streets, for which the public has never paid one farthing. I have made it a standing instruction to my agents and managers, throughout the State, to give the ground, and the timber, and stone, wherever a new road is opened; and to every road in the county, and some in the State, where private stock has been taken to make it, I have invariably taken stock, if the road passed through my lands; and in several that do not pass near my lands in the county, I am a stockholder. To this Richmond and Lexington Turnpike Company, I gave the right of way through my farm nearly two miles, and at my own expense took down and put up, I think, nearly a thousand pannel of post and rail fencing, and took and paid for a thousand dollars of its stock. Has the gentleman, who lectures you upon my want of public spirit, aided with his long purse to make your roads—to make your country what it is? No sir, no. If slander and falsehood would make roads, canals and bridges, the gentleman would have been a great patriot, no doubt; but as money, and not slander, does the work, the gentleman cursed his country and quit it, without opening his purse to make a road.

The gentleman next charged me with screening myself from paying a manufacturer or merchant, for clothes bought by me to clothe my negroes with. This I pronounce a falsehood. To my knowledge, I never was sued by a merchant or manufacturer in my life; and although the

merchants may sometimes think me slow pay, yet, before the reverend slanderer made the charge, I think I never was charged with defrauding a fellow creature, in making a contract, or an unwillingness to pay an honest debt. It is now fifty years since I left my father's roof, an infant volunteer, with no other property but my rifle on my shoulder to defend the frontiers of the State; and I have from that moment until now, been a responsible agent, acting for myself, with no other counsellor but my own judgment and conscience in my intercourse with the world. In a long life my transactions have amounted to millions, and I have done business with thousands; and at this moment no man in Kentucky, I believe, attempts to manage and control such a variety of business, and to transact with as many agents, attornies and overseers as I do; and yet it has rarely occurred that I have had a suit arising upon a contract. And I will here do the world the justice to say, that in all my life, I think I have never encountered a man more destitute of moral principle, than I found the reverend gentleman to be.

Another charge which the gentleman makes against me is, that I have not only set many of my own slaves free, but have, by a deed recorded in the clerk's office of this county, authorised my wife to set certain of my *other* slaves free. In this charge, this biped, who declares that he has not been moved and instigated by the devil, but has prayerfully taken or sought guidance from above, has dragged before you an aged female, and she a member of the Presbyterian church, of which he is both a member and *a disgrace*. Black and unmanly is the heart, who, to reach the husband, basely involves the innocent wife; but I will here stoop to explain, and *suppress* my indignation. Before my marriage, my wife had some slaves whom she had not manumitted, that had descended to her from her parents; among them is a man nearly 80 years of age, the body servant of her father, who fell for his country at the battle of the Blue Licks. These slaves, by marriage, became my property; but my wife being a Presbyterian, and conscientiously opposed to slavery, and I having many slaves of my own, I determined that she should still be the disposer of her slaves, and that her pious wishes with regard to them should be fulfilled; and many years since proposed to her that I would send them to Liberia if they would consent to go. This she concurred in, but only seven of them would consent to go, of those that I thought ought to go, determining to retain the aged and infirm at home. These I liberated and sent with money and other articles to *Liberia;* of those that remain, I have liberated but one, and that at my wife's particular request, but knowing the uncertainty of life, and being unwilling that either my heirs or my creditors shall control her pious wishes after my death, I executed (I think) a declaration of trust with the power of appointment in my wife to will or set free any of my slaves which were hers before my marriage. The negroes are my own, and the laws of the land bear me out in what I have done, and none but a brute would have arraigned me before the public for what I have done, either in relation to the slaves I have bought or those acquired by marriage.

Another charge is, that I am a champerner, and have taken lands by *law*, and then dispossessed the occupant. To this I reply, that if I have done so, I violated no law of duty or of the land; that I have done nothing but what every eminent lawyer in the State has done. In a practice of more than forty years, amidst our conflicting land titles, it could hardly happen that I should not sometimes be the lawyer for the successful claimant, and often interested in the event of the suit; and sometimes my feelings have been greatly excited for the unfortunate occupant. But I declare before high heaven, that in all my practice I never had my heart wrung more than from the nominal ejection of the reverend gentleman's uncle, Samuel Meredith, but the real ejection of his aunt, old Mrs. Meredith, his father's beloved and only sister—*by the gentleman himself;* and that I never had a more unfeeling wretch for a client, than he was. After having dispossessed his aged relative, he had the impudence to apply to me to bring an action against her *for mesne profits.* This I indignantly refused, and rebuked the gentleman, by telling him he wanted me to do what I would not do, and that he ought to treat and speak of his aunt more kindly; that he had no right to *mesne profits.* He then, to harrass his aged, infirm and destitute aunt, who, if then not a widow, had a husband incapable of business—employed another lawyer, brought his suit and paid the costs, This I state from impression, and the records will correct me if I do the gentleman wrong as to his suit for the mense profits. Mrs. Meredith was unfortunately married, and always relied on her brother for protection and counsel; and has often with tears in her eyes declared to me that the mortgage for 300 acres of land of which the gentleman dispossessed her, was had and contrived by her and her brother, to prevent her husband from selling her lands in Fayette county and moving to Green River. That her brother's claim on Col. Meredith, the father of her husband, which her brother and her made the foundation of the mortgage, had been fully paid by Col. Meredith himself during the lives of her brother and Col. Meredith; and that her brother had died suddenly without thinking of the condition she would be in by the enforcement of the mortgage. This mortgage, of ancient standing, was found among the papers of Mr. Breckenridge, and enforced by the expulsion of his sister; and *is the farm, the very farm,* the gentleman says he has come by the providence of God, to visit! Poor old Mrs. Meredith now sleeps with her brother in the silent grave, while the gentleman struts the lord proprietor of her land and her labor; and if any want to learn the character of this pious preacher, let him enquire of the descendants of his aunt. Is this gentleman not a pretty accuser against me on a charge that I as a lawyer have turned occupants out of possession?

But this is not all. Tradition gives the gentleman's father credit for the repeal against champerty and maintainance, and according to my best recollection, the first champerty suits I ever was concerned in, were those that his father left unfinished. These in Mason, Jessamine and Trimble were all champerty contracts, I know; and except that of the gentleman

with his aunt, that in Jessamine, against Craig, Rice and others, were attended with as hard and cruel circumstances as ever existed in the country. Men who risked their lives to make settlements, and spent more than a quarter of a century, in improving their lands, were expelled from their homes, and the gentleman, with the feeling of the lime stone, saw it unmoved, sold the land and dissipated the price.

But, the gentleman, after calling me a hoary headed slanderer and *creature*, and pouring forth his phials of wrath upon my character and business, exclaims, "Time was, when the hoary slanderer would not dare say what he has, of me; but now, since I have joined the Church and become a non-combatant, every cowardly scrub insults me." The gentleman further told you, that he descended from a long line of ancestry, whose blood has been freely shed in defence of American liberty, and whose names and acts are recorded on the brightest pages of your history, and wound up by saying, "the gentleman has had enough in his own family to make him cautious, but he is still incorrigible." Well, fellow citizens, let us inquire who this pugnatious parson is, that insults my grey hairs because they are grey, and calls me cowardly scrub. True, sir, I boast no illustrious parentage. I am the son of an humble mechanic; and have always been a man of peace, not of blood. I thank heaven that I never took or desired the blood of a fellow creature. When a single man, I laid it down as a rule of conduct, not to give nor take an insult. In this way, I always escaped with whole bones and skin, and without flying from an adversary. In married life, I have taken care not to give an insult, and reserved the right to fight or not, as I pleased, the brute that has the meanness to insult me. But who is this cavalier that has descended from this long line of illustrious statesmen and heroes? I knew his father well; he was truly great and good. I know, said Mr. Wickliffe, what the gentleman means by the hint he gave, that I am incorrigible in misfortune. He thought by hinting at the fate of my eldest son,* to wring my heart; but he is mistaken. I am a man, and my soul would disdain herself, if she could feel a pang for any thing his polluted tongue could utter. When a young man, I never was posted a coward, because I would not make amends, by washing out with my blood an insult given a youth, in the presence of my sweet-heart and other ladies; but this chevalier, of this long line of ancestry, knows who was so posted. Never shall I forget my mortification when a man entered my room, in Frankfort, and asked me if I had heard the news? I asked him what? "Why, Bob Breckenridge, last night, at the theatre, insulted Doctor Flournoy, in the presence of ladies, and the Doctor has challenged him, and he has refused to fight; and the Doctor has posted him a coward all through town. Here is one of his advertisements, which I have just pulled down in Weisiger's Bar-room." I read it, and for the first time, as I believe, saw in the gentleman's name, the long J. The wicked Doctor seemed to

*Mr. Wickliffe's eldest son fell in a duel.

have made it double the common length, as much as to say, I don't care to disgrace him by the names his father gave him, but I wish to make my card especially apply to the name he has assumed, to make himself a great man and a counterfeit *bully*. "Where is Doctor Flournoy?" said I. "He has taken the street, waiting to catch Breckenridge," said he. "And where is Breckenridge?" "Safe soul, he is in that house where you see the door so well shut. He is safe enough," said he; "the girls will protect him." "If that be the case, he had better compromise," said I. "So I think," said he. And so I learnt, thought this fiery *parson*. He was like, he said, his friend Thompson was, who thought prudence the better part of valor. I am really sorry to tell this upon this *Hots-pur* of a preacher; but when a parson hints at the days when he was a flint and trigger fowl, it is due to truth to let the world know that when he had a chance to fight, he raised his hack-feathers, and would not fight. The gentleman has told us of the metal of his stock. The blood may be good, but if the gentleman could ever stand gunpowder himself, there is no truth in Dr. Flournoy's experiment upon him. To you, gentlemen, his keepers, who have set him upon me, I would say, be sure, when you start the gentleman on the stump again, to caution him to say nothing about a pistol, on the principle that there should be no mention of a rope where there has been any hanging. Neither the gentleman nor any one else should ever mention a duel; and, in *mercy* to him tell him to strike out the long J. which he has added to the name his father gave him, that his son may plead a misnomer to the Doctor's card, should it ever be thrown up to him. The gentleman, after heaving out the gasses of his stomach, in vituperation, slander and falsehood, until the saliva of his throat curdled from the corners of his mouth to his ears, exhibited to you, his brother clergy, a specimen of an humble follower of the lowly Jesus, when with uplifted hands and up-turned eyes, he prayed God to bless every body—even to bless his hoary headed slanderer. The prayers of the righteous availeth much. He is a *praying parson*. I should like to have heard his prayer which he speaks of having made, when he got counsel of God, to make this fine exhibition of christian love and charity which he has just finished. Did he pray God to bless them that cursed him—to forgive those who despitefully used him? And what prayer did he put up to the throne of grace and mercy, for me? Did he pray God to bless me and forgive my sins, and to turn my heart from a heart of stone to a heart of flesh? Or did he call upon his God to curse me, lying and standing, waking and sleeping, going out and coming in—to curse me in my flesh, blood and bones, and send my soul to hell. Preachers and Christians, whose aid he invokes to destroy me, has not this parson given the world a fine exhibition of the happy influence of gospel truth, on the heart of poor sinners? Is it likely, if the gentleman be a sample, that the gospel will soon overspread the earth, as the waters do the great deep? What an obedient God this preacher has. *His* God counsels him to let lose his magazines and stores of slander and

virulence upon his adversary; and when he needs his own dirty libels, issued from that crater of scandal and falsehood, the press of the Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine, he exclaims *here they are!* Little did I know that I should want them, but *my God* has furnished me with them, and when he wishes to prove that he is in bad odor with the Scotish and British Presbyterians, and therefore no abolitionist, he drags from his store-house of slander a Scotish or a British newspaper, containing abuse of his dear self, and exclaims oh! the mysterious works of *God's providence* has furnised me these, with which to confound my accuser. Now, I ask you, fellow-citizens, if you believe God has really done this? Surely you do not; and what a blasphemous hypocrite is he, to pretend that God has stuffed the boot and crannies of his trunk, with his own and British slanders to fight his battles with! But he prays for me, a hoary-headed slanderer! I am not very grey, though I bear the weight of *sixty-six winter's frosts* upon my head; yet old as I am, I would not have this *parson's* heart, nor wear his *Cain-fallen countenance*, for all that human kind can bestow. But who is he that calls me slanderer? and who am I, that I should be thus insulted? Have I ever slandered? Has ever any, but him, the basest of slanderers, called me such? Have I ever been sued or indicted as a *libeller* and slanderer, that I should be insulted by this imported slanderer, in the presence of my neighbors, my friends, my children and grand children? But who is he that dares thus insult me? A biped, whose back has been literally shingled with writs and indictments for slander. The slanderer of both Catholics and Protestants; a slanderer in two hemispheres; a nuisance wherever he lives or moves; a being who never opens his mouth but he raises a *stench of slander!*

Fellow-citizens, said Mr. W., I have trespassed too long. I know that many of you live at a distance, and I will now close for the day, with a request that as many of you as can do so, will meet me here to-morrow, when I pledge myself to prove all I have heretofore said of the reverend gentleman, and to astonish you with disclosures on him, which his unprovoked abuse of me to-day renders necessary for me to do. I will do more; I will prove to your satisfaction that he has not only misread and misrepresented my written speech, with intent to deceive, but that he has with like intent misread and suppressed his own printed publications.

The hour of eleven o'clock being mentioned—then, said Mr. W., I will meet you at eleven, precisely.

At eleven o'clock, Mr. W. rose and said: Fellow-citizens, I am deeply sensible of the trouble I have given you in the request I made last night of you to meet me to-day, and feel grateful for the crowded and respectable audience, that have complied with my request; but before I proceed to sustain myself in all I have said of Mr. Breckenridge, and to prove that all he has charged me with, which is at all inconsistent with candor and an honorable man, is utterly untrue. I have to apologise to you, my friends, for permitting his scurrility and abuse to so far affect

me, as to drive me into a discourteous course of remarks as unusual with me as it is common with him and unpleasant to you; but the offence of my adversary against all the rules of decency and decorum was so great, that I trust to your indulgence for forgiveness; and I will, if I can, hereafter respect your delicacy and my own personal feelings too much to again descend, in the remarks I propose to make, to a level with my adversary. The first duty which devolves on me is to answer the gentleman in relation to his obscenity and indecency in commenting on my circular of 1830. The gentleman in the presence of the ladies who honored him with their presence, after pronouncing me an amalgamationist with a most amorous grin, and with a nasal contraction, exclaimed, "I don't envy the gentleman his taste, for my part I prefer the white." The parson seemed too knowing in the distinction between the white and the black subject. His nasal deformity as he gave utterance, evinced too plainly that he was governed somewhat by his sense of smelling, in rejecting amalgamation; but the indecency and obscenity of the gestures of the gentleman, when he uttered his abhorrence of amalgamation, was not only ill-timed, but insolent and offensive to the audience and grossly impertinent to myself. It is false that I am or ever was an amalgamationist, and none but a letcher or a libeller would place such a construction on my circular. The sentence in the circular from which the gentleman extracts such offensive odor to his olfactories, is as followeth: Speaking of my plan of diffusing the slave population over the States where slavery exists, and protesting against the plan of crowding them into the South, I say that this is dictated both by policy and humanity, and when followed out will, in all human probability, *in time* efface the distinctive marks of color until the chain of slavery is worn out. Though I say time may probably remove the distinctive marks of color, the libidinous parson will have the word *time* in the sentence to mean copulation. A dark thought, and worthy a black heart! The gentleman, I presume, knows the difference between time and copulation well, and knew well what I meant when I said time might remove the distinctive marks of color. The late Rev. Samuel Smith, a Presbyterian clergyman of eminent piety, of exalted patriotism, of great learning and talents, as much above the gentleman in all that adorns human nature, as heaven is above earth, I have been informed, belonged to a school of philosophers that believed that time would bring all the inhabitants of this hemisphere to the same color, and wrote a work to prove his philosophy right. The late Gen. Preston, the winter before I published that circular, said to me, "I believe our climate will make us all tawney colored; I see that I am a shade darker than my father, and my son is still farther removed in color from the carnation of the European than I am." I had the honor of an acquaintance with the late *Abbe Sera*, Minister Plenipotentiary from the court of Lisbon, who, in a conversation with me, maintained that climate alone made color; and this man was said by Thomas Jefferson to be the most learned man in the world. Alluding to this popu-

lar philosophy, I say "Time may wear out the distinctive mark of color." What is my plan? why to leave them (the slaves) as they are. If this is amalgamation, then every slave-holder is an amalgamationist. But what is his plan? why to turn three hundred thousand slaves free, and leave them free to mix and marry among the whites. Now I think this smacks more of amalgamation than mine, which is to keep them in slavery until time shall reduce all, white and black, to the same color.

The gentleman on yesterday charged me with imputing to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, as a body, aboiltion principles, and pronounced the charge false and slanderous, and further avered that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, as a body, never had, by any official act, in any way or shape, interfered with the subject of general emancipation, and exclaimed, "Mr. Wickliffe, will you never quit dreaming things, then printing them, and palming them upon the world as true." Now I charge the gentleman with telling what he knew to be untrue, in both particulars. He knew I never had imputed or charged the Presbyterian General Assembly with abolition or any thing else; and he well knew when he denied that the General Assembly had meddled with the tenure of negro slavery, by recommending Universal emancipation, and denouncing slavery as a sin and a political evil, that he stated an untruth. Now it turns out, that some man, (God knows who,) not "my God," has at some time placed in my hands a copy of one of the acts or statutes of the Gen. Assembly. I will read it to you, (said Mr. W., and read as follows:)

"And is the heresy of abolition among the reformers? Certainly. They possess and claim exclusively, the minutes of the General Assembly, and on those minutes stand recorded the famous abolition act of 1818, drawn up, we have understood, by Dr. Green, the father of old schoolism. That act declares that 'it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day, when the inconsistency of slavery, both with the dictates of humanity and religion, has been demonstrated and generally seen and acknowledged, to use their honest, earnest and unwearied endeavors to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface the blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete *abolition* of slavery throughout Christendom, and, if possible, throughout the world.' "

Does not this nail the gentleman to the counter? How can he face any man after this exposure? But is this all?—No, sir, no. Let us hear the gentleman himself, in the "African Repository," of 1833, hold forth the following language:

"What is slavery?" Says he, "We reply, it is that condition enforced by the laws of one half of the States of this confederacy, in which one portion of the community, called masters, is allowed such power over another portion, called slaves, as, first, to deprive them of the entire earnings of their own labor, except only so much as is necessary to continue labor itself, by continuing healthful existence; thus committing clear robbery;—second, to reduce them to universal concupinage, &c. What

care I whether my pockets are picked, or the proceeds of my labor taken from me? What matter whether my horse is stolen, or the value of him, in my labor, be taken from me? Do we talk of violating rights of masters, and depriving them of their property in their slaves; and will some one tell us if there be any thing in which a man has or can have so perfect a right of property as in his own limbs, bones, and sinews? Out upon such folly! The man who cannot see that involuntary domestic slavery, as it exists among us, is founded upon the principle of taking by force that which is anothers, has simply no moral sense!"

There, fellow citizens, is abolition enough! But our object is more immediately to show that what we have said is true, and what Mr. Breckenridge has said is utterly untrue, in every particular. The gentleman has again and again charged me with abusing himself and his church. This I deny. You were, many of you, present, and heard my speech as delivered here, and are my witnesses that I did not, in all I said, utter one discourteous or abusive word of Mr. Breckenridge or of his church. The gentleman has read and misread my speech, to find a single word or sentence either discourteous or abusive; and after all his false reading, I deny that he was able to find in that speech, a single expression disrespectful, much less abusive, of him or his church. He has boldly charged that the speech, as to him and his church, was a tissue both of falsehood and abuse, without attempting to prove the assertion by any other method than by falsely reading, first, my speech, and then his own publications. In page 17, of my printed speech, he read falsely with a view to deceive in this: that he makes me say, "Mr. Breckenridge says that God has created all men free and equal, and that no power on earth can make an unborn child a slave." Instead of saying "Mr. Breckenridge says," &c., I stated that "he lays down two propositions," and then stated them, without attempting a literal copy of his paper. He read falsely that "he said," &c., as if I meant to give his speech verbatim, when I attempted to state his argument only, and did so. I will now prove my speech true, and his denial not so, and I will prove it from his own mouth.

[Here Mr. Wickliffe read a paper signed 'B,' published in the Reporter of the 26th of May, 1830.]

In the whole of this number, Mr. Breckenridge labors to prove that a man cannot be born a slave; but (continued Mr. Wickliffe,) I call your special attention to the following sentences, where he says, "if it be admitted that a man cannot by any possibility be born a slave—if it is admitted that all men are by nature free, all I have argued for follows of necessity. Who will deny that principle ever again? Has any American constitution denied it, when truly interpreted? I deny that it has. That our own has not, has been my efforts in these papers to show."

Again, in his number of the 19th, he breaks forth and says:

"A man cannot, by covenant, bind himself to slavery. I think it is clear that one unborn can in no sense be a slave, and such, I do not doubt, is the doctrine of our Constitution."

After showing the absurdity of paying a man, under the Constitution, for unborn slaves, he exclaims:

"There is no shadow of pretence for saying the Constitution ever meant to guarantee to slaveholders that they should hold in servitude the decendants of their slaves."

Again, he says:

"Let any one ask himself if it favors liberty to interpret the word slaves, in the clause I am discussing, to mean the distant posterity of a slave. What meaning could be given to it more unfavorable to liberty or more variant to the general tone of the article itself." Again, "whence," he says, "it follows that the term slaves, when used in that instrument, is to be understood as meaning those persons held to involuntary bondage, who are in existence at the particular time being, *and none others.*" He further says, "The General Assembly has full power, before the birth of those persons who, by our constitution and laws, can be held in slavery, so to modify existing laws as to let them remain as they are born, *free!*" Again, "It follows that the General Assembly has full power so to modify existing laws as to allow the condition of slavery to attach, at birth, to those who can be slaves only in a qualified or limited manner; that is, to provide for the gradual prospective emancipation of the descendants of female slaves." Again, he says, "those who lean towards a contrary doctrine should well consider to what it leads them. No rule of reason is better received or clearer, than that *force may be resisted by force*, and whatever is thus established may at any time be lawfully overthrown." Again, "The laws of man do oft-times pervert the best gifts of nature, and wage a warfare idle and impious against her decrees, but in all such cases you may discover what is of earth and what is from above."

These are certainly only extracts from the seven numbers published by the Jeverend gentleman in 1830, but I have read you nearly the whole of them; and what are the fearful doctrines boldly advanced by this gentleman? Why that our slaves born since the date of the constitution, are born free, and are so by the laws of God, nature, and the constitution; and that they are held by force, and, against the laws of nature and nature's God, made slaves; and that the Legislature has full and ample power to declare them free, without paying the owners one cent for them; and further, the terrible intimation is given to slave owners, that as they hold the descendants of females since the date of the constitution, in slavery by *force*, by the laws of God and man *force may be resisted by force*, and that the resistance is justified by the laws of both God and man—the plain English of which is, that if the *post nati* shall rise on their masters and cut their throats, if they refuse to let them depart from their bondage, as free men and free women, the act is lawful by the constitution, the laws of God and nature. With these papers before me, I simply stated that the gentleman had laid down two propositions: 1st, that the constitution did not apply to the after-born,

and that all such were born free; and 2nd, that there was no power on earth that could make an unborn child a slave, and therefore, the Legislarure might, without paying the owners, set the after-born at liberty. Although these are the express declarations of the gentleman; and which he has, in seven numbers published more than ten years since, labored to prove correct; yet he had on yesterday, the hardihood not only to deny that he had ever advanced such doctrine, but to let loose a flood of abuse on me for saying that he had; and with a view to deceive the audience, pretended to read what he had written, totally omitting to read the clauses to which I have invited your special attention.*

I have not only proven the gentleman did state every thing I had ever said he had stated, but have convicted him of denying what he had stated, with his numbers before him, and of attempting to palm the deception upon the audience, by falsely reading, with intention to deceive. This you all know, and every man here to-day and who heard him yesterday, is a witness of its truth. In my written speech, and in my verbal one, I did not read one of the gentleman's declarations, simply because I only wished to read enough from his publications to explain my condition in 1830 and in 1840, in relation to the abolition of slavery in the State. I did not wish to make him odious and execrable in the eyes of all the people of Kentucky, and therefore neither read nor commented on so much of his publications as I have to-day read, in which he maintains that the *post nati*, or after-born slaves, are held in bondage by force, and warns masters that force may be resisted by force; that is, that slaves thus held, may at all times rise upon their masters lawfully, and resist their oppressors by insurrection and rebellion. This is one of the odious and detestable doctrines of the gentleman, which his insolence to me, and his disingenuousness on yesterday, have forced me to read to you on to-day, and for which he stands this day obnoxious to the just abhorrence of every man in Kentucky.

Having fully sustained myself as to the gentleman's written publications, I can but pay a passing remark to the remaining statements. In my speech, about which the gentleman has lashed himself into such a fury, I stated that I had dreaded the discussion of the negro question before negroes and owners, and therefore would not notice either the written publications of Mr. Green or Mr. Breckenridge, and that when Mr. Green found I would not do so, he ceased to write; but Mr. Breckenridge, finding that he could force me to notice him in no other way, declared himself a candidate for the Legislature, and at various muster fields, race fields and other places, reiterated his doctrines in the presence of negroes and masters; in all of which, he arraigned me before the people on account of my pro-slavery principles, and on account of my road bill, as he was pleased to term it—and that I still avoided the discussion, until

*Since I made the exposure of Mr. Breckenridge's trick in not reading his own publication, in his speech, fairly, he has published a speech, as his, in which he has inserted a part of what I read as the suppressed paragraphs.

forced to it in self defence. Has he denied one sentence in that part of the speech? He dare not do it; for if he had, every important statement made in my speech, of his conduct and of my forbearance, could have been proven by more than five hundred living witnesses. On this part of my speech, he was contented to say nothing, but to denounce the whole I had said, as false. What, fellow citizens, must be your pity, scorn and contempt for a man professing religion, that can so far descend from the conduct of a gentleman or a christian, as to attempt, by a general denial, to palm upon the world as true, what he knew could be proven false, by hundreds present. Hundreds of you know that my statements were substantially correct, and what hundreds know, I will not descend to prove farther than I have. In my speech excepted to by the gentleman, as imputing to him and his church abolition principles, I wish it to be borne in mind that I neither spoke of the gentleman's conduct since 1830, nor of any opinions or conduct of the Presbyterian Church since that period. Of the gentleman, I have said nothing but what I have proven; and I will read what I have said relative to the church. In page 20, I am made to say, that "her (England's) first emissaries in furtherance of this plan, came through the church of Scotland, recommended to the churches of the same faith, in America. These emissaries sowed the seeds of abolition in that church, which took such root that the church itself has been rent in twain by it. Many of the General Assembly of that church are believed (*at first*,) to have become greatly infected with the seeds of universal emancipation." This is all I ever uttered. My statement only goes so far as to charge a part of the General Assembly with universal emancipation principles, and that only as the first impressions of the assembly. These statements are charged as utterly false, by the gentleman, who declared, as I have before stated, that the General Assembly, as such, never did act on the question, and that the churches of Scotland and those of the General Assembly never did, either of them, send delegates, of any kind, from one to another, nor hold intercourse, except by letter.* I will now bring the gentleman before you in a totally new light, and not only prove this denial untrue, from his own lips, but exhibit him in a most unenviable position, as a missionary on this very *negro business*. Unfortunately for the gentleman's veracity, his vanity in trying to appear well before the abolitionists of England and America, and

* After I proved this to be utterly untrue, Mr. Breckenridge changed my statement by making me say the missionary came from the Kirk of Scotland, and altered his denial to apply to a statement of mine that they came from the Kirk of Scotland. This is base subterfuge. I never said any thing about the Kirk of Scotland; but finding that I had proven not only all I had said, but more, out of his own mouth, when he wrote out his speech, he made his denial apply to a remark I never made, and hoped thereby to escape universal execration, for denying what he had stated himself. The gentleman has been guilty of another trick equally disingenuous; he has made me say, in his written speech, that the first missionaries sent by England, through the Church of Scotland, were Thompson and Martineau. This is untrue, and my speech will prove it. I stated Thompson and Martineau to be emissaries of England, but neither her first nor sent through the church of Scotland. They were among her last sent.

his propensity to quarrel and slander has put into my hands, at various times, the complete evidence of the gentleman's turpitude beyond the water, and his want of veracity in denying what he knew was a fact, on yesterday. Having caused the gentleman's abolition speeches and movements to be destroyed, about twelve months since, (fearing they might corrupt my slaves, many of whom read,) I was fearful the gentleman would escape before I could regain the evidence I had destroyed. Of my want of this evidence, the gentleman was advised, and supposing that he might defy conviction of falsehood, he has given full scope to his natural propensity, whenever he has a controversy, to misstate and abuse; but fortunately my friends (not my God, for my God does not act for me as the gentleman's does, to hunt up his filthy libels,) have furnished me with a sufficient mass of evidence to overwhelm and confound the gentleman, and to surprise every one else. It seems the gentleman fared badly before the British and Scots; or rather, came off second best with his frind and brother, George Thompson; and, with a view to bring up his lost ground, he challenged brother Thompson to mortal combat before the Presbyterian world, to be assembled in the city of Glasgow, and like the jack in the fable, put on the lion skin and passed for a great king of the forrest, until he began to bray, when he stood forth a very jack. Although in another hemisphere, his natural vulgarity, virulence and undignified vanity betrayed him to the contempt of all the Christian churches of Great Britain and Scotland, as soon as he opened his mouth. His controversy with Thompson was printed, and what he said found its way into the public papers of both hemispheres. The gentleman not liking his position in that controversy, is now engaged in republishing that debate, suppressing what Thompson said and proved upon him, and considerably (I think,) changing what he himself said, in many particulars; but enough, and too much, remains, to place the gentleman in such condition as no living man could believe he ever could be placed in, who has seen with what effrontery he proclaims himself an honest man and a pious Christian. The series of libels which he is publishing in his Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine, will be found under the appropriate title of "Foreign Labors in the Abolition Controversy."

[Here Mr. Wickliffe read Mr. Breckenridge's letter to the Editor of the Glasgow Chronicle, signed by him as a delegate from the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. He also read Mr. Breckenridge's speeches made before the people of England and Scotland, at Glasgow, 1836, &c., and invited the particular attention of the audience to the following parts of them:]

Mr. Breckenridge said "he had no intention to attempt a mitigation of their hatred to slavery; and if, at some future time, he should meet in America, with any one now present, he would prove to them, by the friendship of those who loved and respected him, and the opposition of those who did not, that he hated slavery, in itself, as much as any one of

those present could do so. I am a man—I consider nothing that relates to man foreign to me. * * * *He did not wish them not to interfere with America--he admitted their right to interfere*--but the question was, how were they to do so? He wished, in the course of the discussion, to bring before them facts, to prove that if they did at all interfere with *slavery* in America, it must be done as between individuals, not as a national question—that whatever they did they should do as christians, not as communities—that they must not for a moment look upon it as a question of rival power and glory—as a question between Great Britain and America. If they did so, in the slightest degree, all chance for good was gone forever. In the prosecution of the question, they should not allow themselves to be identified with any party in America, in politics, in religion, or metaphysics, and more especially, not with a small and odious party, as they had done to a deplorable extent. They should not identify themselves with a party so small as not to be able to attain their object. * * He did not wish to trace the progress of the great events of the last half century, upon the sacred cause of human freedom, or upon the important branch now before them; but he was sure he uttered the sentiments of all in America, when he said that the great day of their power to do good as *a nation*, was to be dated from the passing of the *reform bill*. From that period, they had acquired power to start in a new career of action, both at home and abroad. *The sending out agents was one of the great lines of operation attempted upon the Americans*. This the Americans complained of, as having been done in an *imprudent and improper way*, founded on views at once harsh, offensive and unjust, as regarded them, and mistaken and absurd in relation to the whole black race. They have sent out agents to America, who have returned defeated. They admit they were not successful, though they say they retreated *only*—that they were not *defeated*. They have failed—they admit that they have failed, in their object. One of those agents, on his return, made statements," &c. Again, Mr. Breckenridge stated that "in the slaveholding States, there was a large *minority*—in some, nearly half the population—zealously engaged in furthering the *abolition* of slavery. In Kentucky, slaveholding had been introduced by a small majority; when, in 1795, a convention was called to amend her constitution, that majority was diminished; and still at this hour, in that State, in which he was born, one of the greatest political questions agitated, was, whether slaveholding should be abolished or retained, as an element of the Constitution. *A law had long ago been passed*, imposing a fine of six hundred dollars on all who brought a slave into the State. * * * He declared, in the presence of God, his conviction that there was scarcely a man in the free States who did not wish the world rid of slavery. He believed the same of a large minority in the States in which slavery existed." Again, in Mr. Breckenridge's letter to the editor of the Patriot, Edinburg, June 3rd, 1836, he says: "It is absurd to confound States that have abolished slavery half a century ago;

and States that are now struggling to make safe and happy deliverance from it, and States which have small and devoted minorities who are striving to enlighten public sentiment on the case, and States which are nearly unanimous in favor of the eternal existence of slavery. You send a heated zealot to us, who, by his violence and bitterness stirs up all manner of strifes among us, &c. * * The whole of the free people of the United States may be divided into two great classes, the one favorable to immediate action on the subject of slavery, with a view to its abolition," &c. * * He exclaims, "Why need you be deceived? You have sent four messengers from your churches to ours; and I am now the fourth messenger from our churches to you. Is the voice of one rash and passionate man to overbear the voices of the remaining eight, when of the whole *nine, he alone handled money in the transaction, and he alone was unsent by the churches?* Mr. Thompson's whole conduct in America was most eminently calculated to exasperate the public mind, to wound the feelings of christians, to wean the hearts of the people from all that countenance and support him, and to do direct and incalculable damage to the cause of the poor slave." Again, "In Virginia," he said, "from which Kentucky had, in a great measure, been peopled, not many years ago, a frightful insurrection had taken place, and many cruelties had been practised—it was needless to say whether more on the part of the blacks or the whites. The succeeding legislature of the State, took up the subject of slavery, in its length and breadth, and passed a law for giving twenty thousand dollars to the Colonization Society," &c. &c. Again, in his No. 7, he says: "History sheds on this subject, a broad and steady light, and sheds one unchanging lesson. Domestic slavery cannot exist forever; terminate it must—*witness San Domingo*," &c.

[Here Mr. Wickliffe proposed an adjournment; two o'clock was agreed to. But before the adjournment took place, Mr. Breckenridge rose and desired to be heard. Many voices being raised against his being heard, and the crowd moving out, he exclaimed to the people, "If you are freemen, I wish to be heard; but if you are a packed jury of Mr. Wickliffe, I don't wish to be heard." On which, a few voices said proceed, and a part of the crowd stopped to hear, when Mr. Breckenridge was understood to say that the letters and publications, read by Mr. Wickliffe, were his private thoughts and speculations; that he compelled no man to adopt them. Indeed, the published addresses were made when he was a lawyer, (of no great eminence, he admitted,) more than ten years ago; that as a freeman, he had a right to publish opinions, as well as Mr. Wickliffe, or any other man; that upon such subjects, others had changed, and that he claimed the right to change his opinions, and for all either Mr. Wickliffe or they knew, he had, like others, changed his opinions, on some of the points discussed in the numbers published by him in 1830; that Mr. Wickliffe had given George Nicholas credit for every thing; and from the gentleman's speech, it would seem there never existed such a

man as John Breckenridge, who, he averred, was the author of the section in the constitution relative to negro slavery, and had presented to the convention the whole constitution, written out by himself, as it was adopted by the convention; that George Nicholas had nothing to do with the constitution; that he was not even a delegate.]

On meeting at 2 o'clock, Mr. Wickliffe stated that he had concluded, already, most of the documentary evidence against Mr. Breckenridge he wished to read, and had called their special attention to particular remarks and statements of Mr. Breckenridge, with a view not only to show that every word and sentence he had uttered in his speech, complained of by Mr. Breckenridge, was strictly and substantially correct and true, but that every denial and contradiction made by Mr. Breckenridge was wholly untrue, and (said Mr. Wickliffe,) if I have not done so, there is no truth in print, and a man's own mouth cannot utter a truth against himself. Indeed, so astounding was the proof of the guilt of Mr. Breckenridge, after the papers were read, that he seemed completely *changed*. On yesterday, when he hoped that his trick to prevent my addressing you would enable him to pass without detection and exposure, he was all defiance; every word, every sentence evinced the braggart and bully; I was held up as a reckless slanderer, who had maliciously assailed him and his beloved church. But, to-day; when every fact is proven, every word established from under the gentleman's own hand; when he is convicted out of his own books, he desires to be heard again in his defence, and makes no defence, except to say that it is all true, but these papers contain only his private opinions. When I heard this from the lips of my gross and caviling adversary of but yesterday, I could not tell whether to feel pity or contempt for him. I always knew that my adversary was a reckless slanderer, but I did not expect to catch him as I have done, nor did he expect to be thus caught, or he would have made a very different speech. He had learnt that I had imprudently destroyed the Edinburg and London papers, to keep them out of the hands of my slaves, and that I was in quest of another copy, without effect, and thus he ventured to make his flat contradictions, and hurl the epithets of slanderer and liar at me *on yesterday*. Kind friends, (if not a Providence,) have placed in my hands what he supposed could not be produced against him until he was over the mountains and far away; and yet they have not furnished me with one half of the evidence of the guilt of my assailant. If more evidence were necessary, it exists in abundance, besides what I have read; but if what I have read has not convinced, the evidence of one risen from the dead would be insufficient.

As some illustration of the gentleman's title to veracity, I will call your attention to his positive denial that the general assembly of the Presbyterian church, as a body, had ever acted on the subject of negro slavery. This is untrue in every point of view. The resolution I read you, introduced by Dr. Green, and passed by the General Assembly, proves this denial utterly untrue. He utterly denied that England had

ever sent any delegate or agent on the subject of negro slavery, and yet, in his famous Glasgow speech, before thousands who perfectly knew the fact as well as he did, when speaking of England, he said "the great day of their power to do good as a nation was to be dated from the passage of the reform bill; from that period they had acquired power to start in a new career of action, both at home and abroad. The sending out agents was one of the great lines of operation attempted upon the Americans."

The next peremptory denial the gentleman made, was in denouncing me for saying that England first moved in her attacks upon our slave property, through missionaries, sent through the church of Scotland to the churches of the same faith in America. He pronounced this statement false and malicious, and declared that the churches of Scotland and the churches of the same faith in America had never any communications by missionaries, or in any other manner than by letter* I prove this untrue from his own statement, in which he says, addressing the Scottish churchmen, "you have sent four delegates to our churches; I am the fourth from our churches to your churches," and "Mr. Thompson the ninth," and says, "*he alone handled money in the transaction.*"

When a man like Mr. Breckenridge is thus proven to put all the rules of veracity at defiance, in the general, it would be useless and absurd to waste the time of you, my fellow citizens, who have witnessed the denial and the proofs, in pursuing him farther. But Mr. Breckenridge has presented himself as an injured patriot, and thrown himself upon you for trial; and although he has made the contest between us disgracefully personal, still there are interests and considerations which go far beyond mere personalities, in this contest. It has brought to light the vast machinery which England has put in motion, to destroy the planting of cotton and the sugar cane, indeed the whole planting interests of the country, and has given you a glimpse into a few of her agencies on this side of the Atlantic. I imagine few will hereafter believe the gentleman from Madison, that I am a mere alarmist. If there are any, I give them his publication, side by side with the gentleman's from Baltimore, as identical, and as very well suited even to British abolitionists.

But who can read the speeches of Mr. Breckenridge, and not feel every sensation of indignation and scorn, for the man who could declare, in the face of all Europe, that he did not wish the English to cease their interference with America—that he admitted their right to interfere. Who could have believed that the son of John Breckenridge would have crossed the broad Atlantic, and, before the assembled thousands of abolitionists, enemies to our peace and all bent upon breaking up our institutions, avow his detestation of the institutions of his country, and that he

*Since Mr. Breckenridge made this statement, and his own speeches were read against him, he has, in his written speech, denied that the General Assembly and the Kirk of Scotland had ever sent delegates to each other, as I had affirmed. This is a subterfuge and trick, as I never said any thing about the Kirk of Scotland. In his speeches, he did deny that the churches had ever exchanged delegates, but the contrary being proven from his own mouth, he made the change in his denial.

could convince them, were they in America, by those that loved him, that he hated negro slavery as much as any present. Did any one believe it possible, until I read it from his own pen, that he, the son of a patriot, and, as he says, connected with a long line of patriots and statesmen, would ever degrade himself by pointing out to those enemies of our domestic peace, the most effectual modes of attacking and destroying the rights of property and our domestic institutions. And, you that have set him on me, blush for him, when you hear him declare that England is, on the passage of her reform bill, enabled to commence a new career, at home and abroad; that the sending out agents was one of the great lines of operations attempted upon America. Hear him inspirit these foes to your domestic peace, by assuring them that every man in the free States, and large minorities in the slave States, are doing all they can to effect universal abolition of slavery, in all the States. Hear him tell them that one insurrection of the blacks in Virginia, in which many cruelties were practiced, it was needless to say whether most by the whites or the blacks, had raised twenty thousand dollars for the cause of universal emancipation, by throwing that sum into the hands of the colonization societies, and say if you do not think that he has pointed to a most effectual mode for those foreign incendiaries to free the blacks in all the States. If one insurrection has frightened the great State of Virginia out of twenty thousand dollars, what will another do, and what will insurrections not do, in all the southern States? Oh yes, you that have brought him here for my special benefit, may blush if you can, when you hear him tell the British how they can best sow the seeds of abolition—not by making it a point of glory between the two governments, but to send them in the name of the Prince of Peace, among the barbarians of America, and privately and stealthily operate on the feelings of prejudice and piety, until a force of prejudice is raised sufficient to force you to yield up your slaves and country for the benefit of those they may send to possess those green fields of which he so eloquently discourses.

And, fellow-citizens, what think you of his complaints, put forth to the British public, that his church has sent him their fourth delegate for the four sent from the Scottish churches. But that Thompson, the ninth delegate, alone handled money *in the transaction.* Ah! Mr. Breckenridge, what *transaction* do you mean, and why do you complain that Thompson got all the *money.* Do you wish things changed? Do you mean to say, I have toiled all day; I have periled every thing, country and friends, and you have given me no *money?* What do you mean when you advise these abolitionists, these foreign disturbers of yours country's peace, not to join a weak party, who cannot effect for them the destruction of the slaveholders? Do you mean to say, I am a master-spirit and wield the power of a religious denomination, rich, powerful and talented, with its myriads of clergy and hundreds of thousands of communicants? Why pass me by, why throw aside my weight, with all the powers I can

wield, and avail yourselves of these powerless and imprudent foreigners, who have done incalculable damage to the cause of the *poor slave?*—Yes, you, that have intended me much harm, can now explain yourself; tell the people with whom you have been born and raised, if I have read truly—if I have correctly understood, and do not attempt, by either vulgar abuse or affected satire, to avoid an avowal or disavowal of these papers, that stand arrayed against you in sombre lines, which not all the waters of Jordan can wash out. It is time that you, in reality and prayer, fully consider and consult with real friends, and when you do, you will find enough to do to atone to your country for the balance of your life, for the injuries you have done her, without disturbing the peace and happiness of those who have hitherto done you no harm, but wished your welfare.

Fellow-citizens, said Mr. Wickliffe, I have already said enough to convince you of the evil designs of emancipators, and their movements on Kentucky. In whatever I said of England and of her emissaries, all understood me as only speaking from my opinions. Every one knows that I have no other avenues to the counsels of Great Britain, but those that are common to all, and for these opinions I gave such facts as I thought pertinent, omitting the proofs which Mr. Breckenridge had furnished the world in his famous abolition labors in Great Britain, solely becauso I did not wish to even represent him in his true colors before the world, and because, for reasons he well knows, I did not wish to embroil myself with him farther; but true to his pledge to pursue me through life, he has forced me to expose him, and the consequences rest upon his own head. In a part of his Glasgow harangues, I think, he takes occasion to say that constant assaults on character, however pure, are capable of sullying the good name and fame of every one. He complains that such is his case, but he is determined, it seems, to affect my standing, if a constant volley of slander and vituperation can do it. That he has done me much more harm than all the men upon earth, I verily believe, and that his malignity is unabated and unabateable, I well know; but if any thing could cure him of his propensity to brawls and slander, I think this day's disclosures is enough to do it. But as I have only given you the details of his abuse of myself and his brother Thompson, I will now give you what I think is an epitome of the mind and heart of Robert J. Breckenridge, Doctor of Divinity, &c. &c.

[Here Mr. Wickliffe read Mr. Breckenridge's description of the consecration of the Roman Catholic Church in Lexington, by Bishop Purcell. Much laughter.]

Sir, said Mr. Wickliffe, had this been given to the world by some such jester as Joe Miller, or some such scoffer of all religions as Tom Paine, the sober part of the world might bear with it; but what say you Presbyterians and Methodists, whose aid he has invoked to help him to crush me?

Of the jests of this waggish Parson about the falsehood and perjury

of the Apostle Peter, is it not most encouraging to unbelief, when a revered doctor can make merry at his own version of Peters' treachery and perjury? And what say you all, who are now present, and who witnessed the consecration which he thus ridicules, to the falsehood with which he has embellished his tale, and sent forth to the world as truth, with a view to degrade the Church of Rome? I know that my audience is a Protestant one, and were I only seeking their applause, I would, perhaps, pass this display of vulgar jest and malignity of the reverend divine by, but recollect that it is a satire on Lexington—it is a tale—a tissue of falsehoods, published upon the citizens of Lexington, and upon your wives and daughters, and that this man, after endeavoring thus to degrade Lexington, comes here professing love and veneration for Lexington. I know his partisans will say, he only intended to degrade the Catholics, and to hold them up as base idolators of stocks and stones, and found it necessary to make our wives and daughters figure in the *drama*. But Christians remember if this clergyman, because he is a Protestant, can play the scoffer at Catholics, that the world will scoff at all religion.—And remember that these Catholics constitute three-fourths of the Christian world—that by the foolishness of preaching of Chirst and him crucified, that this Church civilized all Europe and redeemed it from barbarism. It is this church that first gave woman her rank in life and redeemed the marriage-bed from impurities. Recollect that it is through this Church, so scoffed at, that you Protestants first learned the doctrines of Christianity. I belong to the feeblest church in the State, and am scarcely worthy of belonging to any—but, I thank God, that I am a friend to every religion that professes to worship the Great God of the Universe.

I well remember this Catholic church, when the humble men mentioned with ridicule by the merry divine, and a few others, assembled in a miserable house near the old burying ground, because they were too poor to build or buy or a better place to worship in, and being told by my old friend Mr. Baden that they wanted a better place to worship, more than thirty years since, I contributed, according to my means, to help to build them the little brick-house so contemptuously spoken of, and when they desired a larger and better house, I helped them to build that also. I did this that the Catholics among us might worship God after the manner their forefathers had done. On the same principle, when I saw the churches called orthodox, shut their doors on Alexander Campbell in Lexington and Frankfort, I helped his few followers to build a church, so that they might worship God also, as to them seemed right. Indeed, I think I have assisted to build almost every meeting-house erected since I lived in Lexington, except I may not have contributed anything to the old Baptist Church, and yet I think I did, through Col. Drake, advance the sum I generally gave others to that Church also. I have given the Methodist most, because it is the church of my mother, and because I was mainly instrumental in prevailing on them to build a Church in the centre of the city for the reformation of some of our mechanics, who

were dissipating their labor and the means of life in such clubs, as 'free and easys," and other sinks of vice, many of whom I have since seen reformed, through that church, into peaceable and good citizens. Nor have I confined my efforts in favor of the rights of conscience to those sects who vote at our elections. On the contrary, when a combination was formed between professors of religion and the irreligious against the Shaking-Quakers, I defended them against their threatened ruin for years in the Senate, and when I was defeated there, I brought their case before the Judiciary and finally obtained for them the privilege, which every human being should have, that of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

And, fellow-citizens, I glory that I have lived to see Lexington open a church door on every Sabbath to every human being that professes Christianity, no matter of what creed or country he may be. I detest bigotry and loathe church squabbles, for which my adversary is so famous. Formerly the gentleman had to glut his malignity on the Catholics only, but now he has to cross fire upon both Catholics and Presbyterians. Yes, my fellow-citizens, he is the master-spirit that raised the whirlwind and directed the storm—that severed the Presbyterian church to its base. On his motion four Synods, with their pastors and communicants, went *unheard* by the board. More than five hundred preachers, some whose heads were bleached with more than three score and ten frosts, and who had not only labored for Zion, but had often prayed the blessings of the Almighty to rest on the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, and nearly sixty thousand Presbyterian communicants were severed in a single day forever, by this missionary of strife.

Time was when this great Church was one and indivisable, and annually sent her pious clergy to legislate for the Church, *the whole Church.* For nearly forty years this Church extended its branches to every portion of our great confederacy, every where planting universities and colleges, and creating places of worship, sending forth from her ministry each year thousands to preach and pray for a fallen world. Her General Assembly, like the sun shedding its light and vivifying influences upon the church, the whole church. Such was the Presbyterian church when she took to her bosom the reverend gentleman, who now assails me. But a few short years sojourn in the church, of this lawyer and gambler, and lo! this mighty fabric, the Presbyterian church is in ruins; its pillars, like those of Palmyra, lay prostrate and in ruins. Oh! that the Prosbyterian church, the whole church, nay that all Christendom could have seen, and heard him pronounce this dreadful disaster of the Church, a mere *sloffing off of the Church.* Yes, Presbyterians, it has come to this with your church, that when sixty thousand communicants and six hundred pastors, are exscinded forever from the Church and when Presbyterian raises his voice against Presbyterian, that this new recruit, from the bar and the gaming table, this ephemeral of your church, with so much composure, says, it is only a sloffing off of the foul flesh

of the Church, as said the Painter David, when he heard that a hundred thousand heads had fallen by the edicts of the bloody Robespiere—that a million would have been better. Sixty thousand of God's creatures, all professing Christians, all Presbyterians, nothing but foul flesh, says this pious divine! After accomplishing this work, the worthy gentleman invokes his church, and even the Methodist, to unite and crush me. I am of too little note to be an object for this crusade, and I shall be greatly mistaken if the gentleman succeed to any extent in his call upon those churches to second his movements. Those churches have no cause of quarrel with me and I have none with them, and I trust that before they enter into the war, they will recollect that the gentleman's object is to overturn the whole system of slavery, as it exists in Kentucky, and to drive more than sixty thousand of the free born citizens of Kentucky, from the country, and that after crushing me, they are to perform that deed also for him. The gentleman has also endeavored to call forth Mr. Clay and his friends to do battle for him. He says that my definition of an abolitionist makes Mr. Clay one. I know not by what authority the gentleman introduced Mr. Clay's name. I call all men who design to be, or are now engaged in setting our slaves free, abolitionsts. The first society ever established in Pennsylvania was called the abolitionist Society. All the societies established in America to aid in effecting the manumission of slaves, have been termed abolition societies, and their members abolitionists. True, a part of the abolitionists think, as a means of effecting that object, the best plan is to put black and white men and black and white ladies upon an equal footing in the intercourse of social feelings. These Mr. Breckenridge termed ultras, when on the other side of the water, but since he got defeated before the British Clergy, in his squabble with his co-worker, Thompson, about *the money that was handled in a certain transaction*, he says he is no abolitionist; that he loves the white better than the black women. What does this avail the master?—what is it to him, if his property is taken from him, what color Mr. Breckenridge or Mr. Thompson prefers? They are both professed plunderers of the slaves from the slave holders. Thompson says it is a sin and a shame to keep negroes in slavery; and therefore, cast off your sin and shame, at once. Doctor Breckenridge says, don't mind the heated zealot, but mind me. He wants you to take the physic all at once, but I administer it to you in broken doses; he will murder you right off, I will kill you by degrees; he will use the knife, I wilr dose you with slow poison.

The Doctor's plea that he is no abolitionist, puts me in mind of Pat's that he was no thief. When convicted of sheep stealing, he was told by the Judge that his crime was killing a sheep contrary to law. "Bless your honor," cried Pat, "I would scorn to kill a poor *shape*, as much as your honor; I just cut his throat to kape him from dying wid the rot." Mr. Breckenridge would scorn to be an abolitionist; but you must give up your negroes. and then he has no objection to amalgamation.

Fellow citizens, said Mr. W., the gentleman has again brought up my conduct as your Senator, and charged upon me that I have resigned my office in pique, because you refused to elect my son. A word of explanation on this point. I am not mortified, much less piqued, that my son was not elected. He got a majority of the votes polled, and I am proud to say, that among his voters are to be found the names of my old and best friends. I profess to be a republican, and an advocate for representative government, over all other systems of government whatever.

It is now nearly forty years since I was first a legislator, and more than twenty years since I first represented this county; and, if any one can point to an act of mine where I have disregarded the declared will of my constituents, I am ignorant of it. On the contrary, I have ever declared that the moment I could not represent the will of my constituents, I would resign. I have served longer, perhaps, than any other man, in the Kentucky Legislature, and have most of the time I have served, been, as regards politics, a party man, and conspicuously so, and yet this said R. J. Breckenridge is the only human being that I know of, that has ever arraigned me for a vote before the year 1840. In 1830, he tried to drive me from the Senate about my circular and this negro bill. Had he been elected, I should of course then have done as I did in 1840, resigned. Up to 1840, no test vote was ever moved against me. In 1840, I admit that the trickery of a junto has succeeded in obtaining a vote of censure on my opposition to that vile abolition measure now so lauded by the gentleman. I have, of course, resigned, and given to those who tricked slaveholders out of their votes, the undisturbed possession of their victory. Yes, I have returned to the humble walks of private life, where I intend to remain, without any reward or hope beyond an approving conscience. That I have in all things endeavored to serve you and my country faithfully, and that I have acted out my own principles, I have proof from record. In 1831--2, when, owing to a difference between Col. Johnson and Mr. Rowan's friends, I was enabled to keep the Jackson party from electing a Senator, although they had six of a majority on joint ballot, it was repeatedly in my power to have made my brother Senator, and when put in nomination by the Jackson party, I voted against him. After this my old friend, the late Gen. Payne, remonstrated with me, and proposed to close the contest at once, by making my brother the Senator, if I would agree to do so. To this proposal, I replied, 'no man loves a brother better than I do mine, but I have ever made duty a paramount law with me, or endeavored to do so. I am but the trustee of my constituency, and I know they prefer another.' He replied, 'you are right;' and no election was made until the next year, when I handed over the office, as far as depended on my vote, to a man that I believed my constituency preferred.

As I have said, it was my wish to have served out my term, and I should have done so, but that I felt myself compelled to resign; and I am now rejoiced that I have done so, as it enables me to meet the wreckless adversary I have, upon equal terms.

The gentleman further charges on me, that I have, not only in my speech before you, but at Chilesburg, endeavored to excite the people to lynch or mob the advocates of negro emancipation, and him, of course. From the insolent manner in which the gentleman addressed you, before dinner, I have no noubt he wished to provoke something he could torture into a menace, to answer his purposes, and I as little doubt that the gentleman has sincerely hoped that something of the kind—a threat, if nothing else, would occur, to place him upon an equality with his friend, Thompson, that he might publish to the world, that he, like Thompson, was a martyr in the cause of universal emancipation. That opinion of the gentleman's wishes took me to Chilesburg. The gentleman is disappointed, and has no other remedy left him to make himself a martyr but fabrication. It is untrue, as you all know, that I ever have, by a word uttered here or at Chilesburg, incited to personal violence. On the contrary, I expressed at Chilesburg, a sincere wish that the whole county would peacibly and calmly hear the gentleman. I know that he owes both the people of this county and myself, his everlasting enmity for the dethronement of his ambitious aspirations, in 1830, when he put up for us his awful and threatening prayers, and quit us; and I well know that he will never cease to make efforts to punish us, in some mode: that of turning our slaves loose is his favorite and cherished hope to satiate his sweet revenge, but if he can't do that at once, a multiplication of rapes, murders and house burnings, may make him a prophet, in his day. Remember, he has pointed us to San Domingo and to Egypt, often, to warn us of our fate.

The gentleman then charges me with neglecting his father's merits, and giving all credit to George Nicholas, for saving us from the abolitionists in 1799, when he says the whole constitution, as it now stands, was written out by his father and presented to the Convention, and that the section concerning slaves is wholly the work of his father, except that in constructing that section in the Constitution, he was aided by the late Judge Wallace. Now, it turns out, as I verily believe, that every word of this is destitute of the shadow of truth, and introduced by the gentleman for the sole purpose of making his father's family partakers in his conflict with me; for he knew I would counteract him, and then he intended to say to his brothers, see how he robs our father of his high reputation. But I care not for the gentleman's stratagems. I will, when he states what I know to be untrue, charge him with it. The section is not the work of his father; it is the same section that stood in the Constitution of 1792, and existed before his father ever saw the State, simply copied into the constitution of 1799, and I believe the other statement that his father presented the constitution, as it now stands, is equally untrue. The present constitution is, in most of its articles and sections, copied from the old constitution of 1792. Is it likely his father would employ himself so poorly and meanly as to have copied the old constitution, and palmed it, as his original sketch, on the convention; and is it

likely that such a trick would have passed without detection? Certainly not. His father's memory wants no such draft upon his son's imagination, and if he were more like his father, we should have fewer of them.

The gentleman then charged me with being a member of the Colonization Society. This charge is true in part and false in part. I was once a member of that Society; I contributed freely to it, under the assurance of its founders that it was not to be used to the destruction of the rights of property, nor in the slightest degree to interfere with the tenure of negro slavery. Under this view of the Society, I was, I believe, the first President of a Colonization Society in the valley of the Ohio, and for a while it flourished and did good; considerable sums were raised and remitted to the parent Board. A female society was also subsequently established in this city, apparently doing much good. I was invited to attend a meeting of it, and being requested to state the objects and wants of the Colonization Society, to the ladies, I did so, stating among other things, *explicitly* that it was not designed to interfere between master and slave. On resuming my seat, the reverend gentleman rose and contradicted me, declaring, that if the object of the society was not to ultimately effect the emancipation of the negroes, he would not only wash his hands of it, but denounce it. On his sitting down, another gentleman of the same faith arose, and declared that he agreed with Mr. Breckenridge in the object, design and scope of the society, and differed with Mr. Wickliffe; that the secret was out; the poor man had found that while he guarded the rich man's throat, the rich man's negro was taking bread out of his mouth, and the poor man would no longer guard the rich man's throat while he slept. When I took a survey of the galleries of the church where the meeting was held, I sa them crowded with negroes, listeners to the gentleman and his orat⁰r upon that occasion. This ended my connection with the colonization society *forever*. I considered it in the hands of abolitionists, and among whom was the gentleman, the most heated and malignant against the rights of masters. If that night's exemplification of the objects of the society had left me in doubt of its ultimate object in the hands of its present rulers, the reverend gentleman's avowals before the Glasgow crowds, that its object and tendency was general emancipation, would have removed them. In one of his harangues with Thompson, he says, in substance, just in proportion as the friends to universal emancipation have acceded to the society, the enemies of emancipation have left it.

The gentleman next charges me with proposing treasonable assemblages of the States, where slavery exists, to argue upon the best methods of protecting themselves against the robberies of the emissaries, and the machinations of the universal emancipators. Is it treason for slave-holders to meet and urge their representatives in Con-

gress to suppress the stealing of their slaves, and to demand of the British government the slaves they have stolen and recruited their armies with; or to recommend any other measure which they may deem wise? Is it treason for them to argree upon laws, to be recommended to the several States, to be adopted, to punish those scoundrels that are privately engaged in corrupting and seducing away their slaves, and further to provide against the circulation of those infamous libels against masters and slave holders—such as the gentleman attempted, last summer, to circulate and palm upon Petersburg? Emancipators and abolitionists can hold their conventions in America and Europe, to consult how to cheat, defraud and oppress slave-holders. They can send emissaries among the slaves, to render them dissatisfied, and pass resolutions to aid their escape from their masters. The colonization society can meet and consult—tobacco-planters can hold their conventions—President makers can hold theirs —these meetings are no treasons. But if the slave-holders, plundered as they are in Kentucky, and threatened as they are everywhere, only speak of meeting together and consulting for their mutual safety against plunderers, incendiaries and theives, why, according to Doctor Breckenridge, and his new friend and favorite, Cassius M. Clay, it is treason. Very well, slave-holders, if you will submit to this insolence, when you have power to punish, you will soon have such men as George Thompson and Robert J. Breckenridge, your lords and masters, and all men like myself expelled the country or trodden under foot. They consider the day their own, when they hold such language as Mr. Cassius M. Clay and the gentlemen do: that is, that a meeting of slave-holders to consult and to provide for their mutual safety will be treason, and all engaged in such meeting, traitors. But I tell you that if it be treason, I, for one, am prepared to try it. I have, as far back, I think, as 1819, by resolutions through the Legislature, called the attention of Congress and the President to the nefarious practice of England in stealing and carrying off our slaves, and no effort has been made by Congress to stop it, but every year since the robbery has increased; and in the same proportion has the audacity of the abettors of the negro plunderers increased, until now, forsooth, it is pronounced high treason for slave-holders to hold a convention at all. I have recommended it, and if it is treason, I am prepared to commit the treason.

If the Slave States will send delegates, to a convention, in such convention I will urge, that, the slave States not only make their protection a test question, in all districts, but that Congress should distinctly understand that the slave-holding States will not longer tolerate the outrage which the National Government permits England to practice upon them, in seducing away and harboring the slaves of their citizens. The voice of a single and feeble man like myself can avail nothing, the voice of a State has not been heard, but let the

whole slave-holding States speak, and my word for it, Congress will have to act, and that speedily.

I well remember, when the resolutions we sent to Ohio from Kentucky were pending, that I was menaced with the consequences of a civil or a border war, and other dire calamities, by the treason and panic manufacturers. I understood them then, as I do gentlemen now. They feared the progress of Abolition would be impeoed and that the measure might rouse the whole slave-holding States from their lethargy; and rely on it, that that is the chief trouble to the Glasgow orator, who so sharply inveighs against the proposal of a convention from the slave-holding States, to consider of the question of negro slavery as it exists and should exist in such States.

The gentleman says, I voted for the Bill I wish to have repealed. Well, granted. If I have voted for a measure my better reflection condemns, am I not more bound to desire and to effect its repeal than if I had voted against it? I admit that my vote appears on the Journals for the bill, and I may have voted for it understandingly and still desire its repeal. But of its passage I know nothing, I recollect nothing. I never knew such a bill existed until 1835, as I verily believe, two years after its passage; when it was showed to me by Col. Jesup of the Senate, with whom I left a bill for its repeal, which has been pressed every year since, and has twice passed the Senate. The gentleman has stated the progress of the bill untruly. He states that I was present when the bill underwent its second reading and I voted for it. That I was present when it was introduced, and when it was finally passed. That I was present when the bill passed, the Journals show, but they show that I was not present when the bill underwent its first and second reading. From Thursday until late on Tuesday I do not appear to have voted on any measure, although the ayes and noes are repeatedly recorded each day. As well as I recollect, and during that time my reports as chairman of the committee of courts of justice, were made by Judge Owsley, nor had I any suspicion, until my vote was found for the bill, that I had ever been in the Senate when that bill was voted on, much less passed. After the utmost enquiry and search to ascertain where I was or what detained me from the Senate, I cannot tell. A friend of mine thinks he visited me, about that time, confined to my bed by illness. All I recollect is, that I had such general bad health, that towards the last of the session of 1833, the session the bill passed, I was but seldom able to attend to business. My uniform and successful opposition in the Senate, as detailed to you by Mr. Green in his publications, to kindred bills, is proof to every man that I never could have voted for the bill, if I had not been deceived by its title or in some other way. Indeed, if my friends, who witnessed my course for years, were to speak for me, I think they would uniformly declare it as their opinion, that the clerk had wrongfully recorded my vote. I know not certainly

what cause to ascribe it to, if I voted for the bill. If I recollected the passage of the bill, I might conjecture at once how my vote stands as it does, but more than seven years had elapsed before I ever saw the Journals containing my vote, when every vestige of the passage of the bill through the Senate had escaped my mind. If I voted for it, it was I think because I was informed that it was simply an amendment to existing laws, as its title purports to be, and having confidence that the Senate, that had so repeatedly rejected such bills, & special confidence in the gentleman who introduced it, I did not call for its reading on its final passage. By the rules of the Senate, without the special order of the Senate, a bill takes its first and third reading by its title only, but is read through and freely discussed on its second reading. The Journals show that this Bill was not only so read on its second reading, but committed to the committee of the whole, and on a vote taken by ayes and nays, was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, during all which time I have no doubt I was absent and in a sick bed. On Tuesday, I no doubt attended late in the day merely to vote on a very important local bill for the benefit of Fayette county, and during the little time (the Journals show my presence on that day,) this negro bill was put on its passage—being weak and having been absent, I presume, I voted for the bill, supposing it contained nothing materially affecting private rights. Had I known what the bill contained, it is utterly impossible that I could have voted for it. In all its provisions it is impolitic and unwise, and in many of them, it is a direct and palpable violation of the Constitution. In the sections prescribing the duties of the commonwealth attorneys and of the judges, it not only violates all the rules which should regulate the conduct of high officers in executing the penal laws, but violates all the rules of moral duties which bind society together. The oath, which it proscribes to the attorney, is so infamous, that no attorney has ever taken it, and no gentleman of character and independence, sufficient to fill the office, will ever take it—the interest which it gives the prosecuting attorney in the fine and forfeiture is disgraceful to the State, and dangerous to the liberty of the citizens; above all it is the tower of strength to those base incendiaries, that prowl the State, stirring up insubordination among our slaves, or seducing them to fly their masters service into Canada. For these and many other reasons I have voted for its repeal. Repeal it and you give a death blow to the designs of the gentleman to ultimately make you repent his abdication of politics for the church. Continue it in force, and my word for it, the gentleman, and his co-workers in the cause of universal emancipation, especially in his favorite and native State, will allow you no peace until you yield up your slaves and country together.

The gentleman from Baltimore is also very vehement against that part of my circular of 1830, in which I say, that while slavery ex-

ists in any of the United States, it should be tolerated in Kentucky—that any plan, to emancipate slaves, to be effectual, must be general and apply to all the States, and that when such plan shall be adopted, it shall have my support. Here the gentleman again cries "treason! The gentleman is a traitor to the Constitution. He wishes either the States themselves or Congress to pass unconstitutional laws. I condemn the gentleman's plan as I do himself!" In no part of the gentleman's harangue has he shown more recklessness than in this part of it. I proposed no plan. I only said that I would adopt no plan, unless it applied to all the states; when such plan is furnished, it shall have my support. And this remark smells of treason in the nostrils of the reverend gentleman, who declares that he is opposed to every plan that will affect *alike* all the States, if such a thing were possible, but that it is impossible to suggest such plan while the National Government exists. Very well, sir, don't lash yourself into a passion, as I only mean to say that when such plan shall be found, constitutional and practicable, I will support it, but until then I am for a stand still. I say, let well enough alone. Hands off, Mr. Emancipator! hands off, Mr. Meddler! And this it is that offends, because this it is that applies to the reverend *orator*.

But a word, sir, upon your consistency. You declared, in the face of all Europe, that the colonization society was a plan for universal emancipation, and expressed your great admiration of the plan. You spoke of the wonder workings of that society in the cause of universal emancipation. Is not that plan a general one, and applicable to all the States. Suppose Congress should set apart a fund from year to year, to sink all the slavery of the United States, and provide transportation to take all as they were freed, out of the United States, would not such plan be applicable to all the States? Suppose the national government had bought Texas, as was contemplated, when I wrote that circular, and had set apart a territory there, or were now to set apart the country west of the Rocky mountains, or provide a country in Africa and the means of transportation, and appoint valuers of slaves and an officer to issue or pay to the owners the value of the slaves, *surrendered* for transportation, would not such plans, or any of them, be common to all the States, and would they or any of them be treasonable. No, sir, no. They would be treasonable only in the eyes of brawling demagogues, who would rob the owner to glut their malice and spleen.

I am a friend to liberty, and if I had the formation of society, I would reject the principle of involuntary servitude. But society is already formed, and I do not think, that it is either wise or humane to meddle with negro slavery as it exists, except to make masters humane. To turn them loose on society, is but to create masses of vagrants, to render the black and white man more wretched, and until national government shall devise some mode by which the master

shall be paid and the slave removed. I am opposed to the tenure of slavery being touched as it exists in Kentucky, and I am an advocate for the passage of severe laws for the punishment of every incendiary movement of the emancipator.

Let us now examine some of the plans of the reverend gentleman for liberating or getting clear of slavery, as he calls it. One plan is: that slaves alone shall be taxed to pay the owner. This is perfectly equitable, and the gentleman, no doubt, intended to enlist the non-slave holder on his side in this plan. Thus, if two men owned a hundred slaves each, he proposed to make just compensation, under the constitution, to both, by taxing one to pay the other; but if one should have a hundred negroes only, and the other have a hundred negroes and lands equal in value to pay for two hundred slaves, then his perfectly equitable and just scheme saddled the solvent man with the whole price of the two hundred slaves. Another beautiful plan of the gentleman is further divulged in his publications of 1830. It is, that by freeing the negroes prospectively and giving masters, instead of a fee simple estate in slaves, to make them tenants for years of their negroes, and thus less interested in taking care of the slaves, especially the young and helpless ones, whereby the whole mass of slaves, will, by want, hunger and other ill usage, die with the rot like sheep and other stock, neglected, until the survivors will be so few that the masses of vagrants remaining will be too small to be a political evil, not to be endured. And he then displays much skill in statistics among the dog-shearers, cat-feeders and dead-horse dealers in London and Paris, from which he shows that this base population dies off, as he wishes the negroes to do. I pretend not to give you the words of this learned and reverend author, upon the wealth of nations and the longevity of cat-feeders and dog-shearers, but I give you the substance, I think, correctly of what his plan is. I have read his publications to you and I ask you if I do not state his arguments substantially: and I further appeal to you to say, if you did believe there was a being upon earth (in the nineteenth century) capable of proposing so cold-blooded and inhuman a plan of ridding the country of slavery. A plan, too, exposing the slaves to such misery and want, as would finally consume them. And yet these are some of the tender mercies of the Reverend Robert Jefferson Breckenridge for the poor slave!

Fellow-citizens, need I say more of my accuser, need I go farther than his own mouth to prove him worse than I ever said of him. The gentleman resembles another great man—an excellent hypocrite, in more respects than one. I mean Oliver Cromwell. Oliver was a great gambler before he joined the Church. In this he was not unlike the gentleman—but Oliver, after he joined the Church, returned what he had won, and as far as he could, placed his gambling out of his way to heaven.—Here they disagree. Report says that the gentleman gambled off several of the slaves, raised by his father as part of his family, or paid them in discharge of gambling debts, who are still in slavery. One of which,

the *namesake* of the gentleman, was a listener to him on yesterday, when he quoted from Mr. Clay his sentiment on slavery, and proclaimed himself the universal champion of universal emancipation. Before the gentleman was thus clamorous about the sins of other people, he should certainly redeem all the slaves thus passed off by him into perpetual slavery. Oliver was a very prayerful man, always beginning and ending with a prayer. In this he resembles the gentleman. When he determines to do battle with George Thompson, he writes to the London Patriot, that, after mature and prayerful consideration and consulting with friends, he can't avoid a battle. When he determines to assault me, he writes to the editor of the Reporter, that after prayerfully seeking guidance from above, and taking advice of many friends, he is compelled to wage war—guided and governed, nay, directed to do it, by the Great God. He has given to laymen and churchmen the *benign* influences of the holy spirit upon his tender heart, but had he been left alone he would have spared me. He was only an inspired missionary, to do the will of his Heavenly Father. Just like the conscientious Oliver, whose God made him turn Parliament, neck and heels, out of doors. The pious, weeping Christian seeks the closet to make his petition to the Throne of Mercy——the publican smites his breast and says, Lord have mercy upon me a sinner—but the deceitful Pharisee thanks his God he is not like other men,—and the reverend gentleman publishes from the stump, and in the newspapers, how prayerful he is. Presbyterians! such a newspaper and stump orator and prayerful parson, can but do what the gentleman has done—sow the seeds of discord and fan the flames of endless strife. And mark well what I say to you, that the sooner you get clear of him the better. Throw him over the fence, and cease your strifes—dry up the bitter waters he has caused to flow—heal your schisms, and unite again. as one Church, under the Great Head of the Church,—and be cautious how you again levy contribution upon the stump and the faro tables for orators, to supply your ministry with.

Thus have I, my late constituents, endeavored to vindicate myself before you, and if I have been tedious, and descended to the mention of things beneath the dignity of the occasion, I beseech you to recollect that I have been assailed with all the virulence of malignant spleen, in my public, professional and private life, by a reckless accuser, who is aided by a junto of keepers, as little scrupulous of the means by which they effect their end, as he is. I now say to you, police officers, be upon the alert, or this city is in danger of being wrapt in flames. And to you, manufacturers, watch well your factories; and to county and city owners of slaves, I would say, bear in mind that since even the canvass of the last general election began, in open day, throughout the county, your slaves have had their natural rights vindicated, in the presence of slaves and masters; and that the slaves of this city and its vicinage have been the regular attendants on and hearers of nightly and popular harangues in favor of universal emancipation. I say to all that hear me, to read a

Manifesto, issued by one of your representatives, in which he has published what may be considered his opinions as to negro slavery—where he denounces it as a political, a moral, an unmixed evil, and this is now in full circulation, and read not only by freemen, but by slaves; and remember that your representatives are pledged to stand by that torch of abolition, the Act of 1833. And recollect the hundreds of slaves and free negroes, who witnessed the scenes and heard the speech of the gentleman from Baltimore; and remembering these things, as you regard your own lives, and those of your wives and children, do not fail to vigilantly watch the movement of your slaves, until this storm of abolitionism shall blow off. If you fail, one and all, in your duty, you may have worse than the scenes of 1831, which followed the gentleman's famous publications and harangues of 1830. I am told that there is already one wretched negro condemned to die, in a few days, for rape, and be assured that whether house-burning, murders and rapes shall again follow the gentleman's display, may depend *now*, upon your *vigilance alone*.

[Before Mr. Wickliffe had resumed his seat, Gen. James Dudley, who had witnessed the whole discussion, rose and moved that after Wednesday next (the last day of the appointed election to fill the vacancy created by Mr. Wickliffe's resignation) Mr. W. should be again the Senator for Fayette county. The motion was carried by an almost unanimous vote. And Mr. W. being pressed to accept the nomination and being assured that both the candidates to fill the vacancy desired it, he consented to *run*, and was re-elected without opposition.]

APPENDIX.

Mr. Breckenridge having circulated,or caused to be circuluted, a report that he had proposed to Mr Wickliff, if he would disclaim any intentition to reflect upon the Presbyterian Church, that he would desist from his purpose of assaulting Mr. W., th following letter is published, to show how little credit is due to Mr. B on that subject:

RANKFORT, Ky., Nov. 5, 1840.

Dear Sir:—Your favor of the the 3d inst. was received yesterday, just before I left Lexington. You deire my recollection of what passed between us, in relation to the Re R. J. Breckenridge, previous to his issuing his card in the Observer &Reporter, and what I communicated to him as our conversation.

I perceived immediately after the rrival of Mr. B. in Lexington, that efforts were made to induce him to mke a speech, at the court-house, in reply to the speech you had made. believed that these efforts were made by those who did not so mucl desire that Mr. B. should defend himself and his church, and explain teir position and principles, as that he should attack you. I exceedinglydeprecated this, not only as a warm friend of both of you, but as a personin favor of the supremacy of law, the preservation of good order, the sppression of vice, and the encouragement of public virtue, with whichcauses I believed both of you identified. I therefore desired and endeavored to prevent a public discussion between you. With that view, I sa Mr. B., and tried to convince him that your speech was not disrespectfl or injurious to him. I reminded him that you had complimented himhighly, for openness, fairness, and great ability; and told him that, thoug I had not seen you on the subject, I was sure that you did not intendto charge him or the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, with entertaining the principles or schemes of the present abolitionists of England andthe North; and that you would not only be willing to say so orally, or in writing, but that you would deny, unequivocally, that you had ever rade any such charge; that in your printed speech, no such direct charg could be found, and that the idea of your having made such a charge, rose from inference, and by placing on words a construction which you lid not intend. I understood from Mr. B. that if you would say thus mch, in point, for the public, it would be entirely satisfactory, and the ncessity of a public speech obviated. In this I cordially concurred. I shrtly afterwards saw you, and from our conversation, believed that I had not mistaken or misstated your position. When I told you that some parts of your speech were liable

to the construction of charging Mr. B. and the Presbyterian Church with entertaining and participating in the views and designs of the modern abolitionists, you declared that such a construction was unjust; that you had not made, and never intended to make any such charge; and you authorized me to say so to Mr. B., and to say further, that you would so state, by letter, card, or in any manner that might be desired, on application from Mr. B. or any member of the Presbyterian Church. I immediately saw Mr. B., who had then written and was withholding his card which appeared in the Observer & Reporter, and communicated what I have above stated as our conversation. He replied to me that such a public declaration of your sentiments should proceed from you *voluntarily*. I told him that, in my opinion, there was no fit or becoming occasion for your *volunteering* such a publication. On this point, we differed and separated.

This is, as nearly as I can express, the substance of what occurred between us, and between Mr. Breckenridge and myself. I trust that there is no necessity for me to assure you that I have never intimated that any opportunity was ever presented to you, for disclaiming having made the charge, against the Presbyterian Church of Kentucky, of participation in the plans and principles of the modern abolitionists, which you have not fully embraced.

Very respectfully, your friend,

EMILIUS K. SAYRE.

ROBERT WICKLIFFE, Sr., Esq.

AN EXTRACT FROM G. M. CLAY'S PAMPHLET.

"R. Wickliffe calls me to account, and would hold me up to public odium and indignation, because I "*dared*" to discuss the *merits* of slavery. When the question is, shall we increase or decrease the number of slaves, what else, under the high Heavens, remains to be discussed, but the *merits* of slavery? Yet, I am not a slave—I dare do all a man may dare. Thanks to liberty, I may yet speak, though all the world be deaf. I shall speak advisedly, calmly, honestly, boldly—one freeman to another—speak as one who plants his foot upon *the right*, feeling that he who falls for his country, most gloriously falls! I declare, then, in the face of all men, that I believe slavery to be an evil—an evil morally, economically, physically, intellectually, socially, religiously, politically—evil in its inception, in its duration, and in its catastrophe—an unmixed evil, without palliation or defence, save in necessity."

The following persons were received into the Jail of Fayette County at the dates annexed to their respective names.

January 12, 1831. SIMON, the property of Eleanor Curry, for *house breaking*,

March 20, 1831. BILL, the slave of Peter Gatewood, charged with *Arson*, hung Aug. 13, 1831.